



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

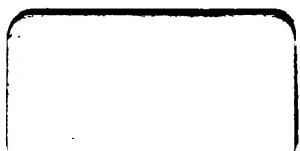
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

Preservation facsimile
printed on alkaline/buffered paper
and bound by
Acme Bookbinding
Charlestown, Massachusetts
2003



Harvard College Library

FROM

By Exchange
Columbia University

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

LOUIS H. GRAY, A.M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS
66 FIFTH AVENUE

1902

3262.2
A

PRINTED AT OXFORD
ENGLAND
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

TO
MY FATHER
AND TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and *New Persian Phonology*, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-248), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Mazandarāni in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, ܐܪܥܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Pāṣtō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Irānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Irānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša* : Phl. *vəšak*, New Pers. *bəšak* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gr̥ha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-er-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Ans.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Mahārāṣṭri, the Prākrit *kar' ḥṣoxṇu*, with Jaina Mahārāṣṭri, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Ārṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śaurasēni, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākari, Caṇḍali, Śabari, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *viḍbhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāṣāci. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prakrits or literary dialects of the period. Paisāci together with Cūlikapaisāci seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prakrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēnadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prakrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prakrit (or Apabhraṃśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvīra and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṃśas or folk-dialects of the Prakrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēni-Apabhraṃśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṃśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Malādiva is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kāśmīrī, Uriyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjabī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Sinhalese and its older form Eḷu, Māladive, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šīyī, Sārīqolī, Rošānī, Tājīkī, Sanghīcī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yīdyāh, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhījānī, Gilakī, Tālīšī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvēndī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kāšāhī, Vōnīšūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kāšānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūči, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrāni), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūči literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrāni is the more primitive speech. North Balūči is divided into Layāri in the North and Marri in the South, while Southern Balūči comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūri, Kirmānšāhi, Gūrāni, Mukri, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249-252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix-xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11-12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417-423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109-115, 209-213, 230-234, 241-248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from foot-notes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877-1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell², London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praecliticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1-48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e. g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhī I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lāṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kāśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxxv. 280-305, lxxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavi I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-i Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pamir, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyân, Balûci, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyân, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštô*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balûci, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian : *m* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ* for *ṣ*, also *r̥*, *r̥h*, *l̥* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ṛ*, *ṝ* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhi I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *ḥ*, *ḍ*, *ḥ*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Sinhalese, *ā*, *ā* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ñ*, *ñ* by *m*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *a* I write *a*, in Balūči *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūči *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k*, *č*, *t*, *p*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *j* instead of Hübschmann's *a*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *dš*, *ts*, *ths*, *ds*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic *έγών*: Boeotian *λών*; Attic *δάλως*: Tarentine *δλωρ*; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiouinur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ekam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣye nivēdayēt
prthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nṛṇā bhavēt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afṣ.	= Afṣān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Babb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiś.	= Pāiśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākṛit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōā.	= Rōānī.
GAṽ.	= Gāṽā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gil.	= Gilakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglūcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śaur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šīyn.	= Šīynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Simh.	= Simhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Šīr.	= Šīrāzī.
Kāśm.	= Kāśmīrī.	Siv.	= Sivēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Uṛiyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnišūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yayn.	= Yaynōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

* = hypothetical forms. > = becomes. < = derived from.

The titles of Magazines are abbreviated according to the system of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

LIFE

I, LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, was born April 10, 1875, at Newark, New Jersey, the only child of Thomas Jefferson and his wife, Anna Elizabeth (*née* Earl). My father is still living, but my mother died in September, 1899. My early education was received at home and at the Newark Academy, from which I graduated in 1892. Entering Princeton College the same year, I received the degree of A.B. in 1896, and remained there a year longer as Fellow in Classics, devoting special attention to Sanskrit and Avestan, in addition to Classical and Germanic linguistics. Feeling my interest drawn entirely to Oriental languages, I entered Columbia University in 1897, where I have remained three years. I was twice appointed Fellow in Indo-Iranian and I have pursued courses in Sanskrit, Pali, Avestan, Old Persian, Pahlavi, New Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. In 1898 I received from Columbia the degree of A.M. I am a member of the American and German Oriental Societies, and of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists. I have published 'The Metres of Bhartrihari,' *JAOS.*, xx. 157-159; 'Certain Parallel Developments in Pali and New Persian Phonology,' *ibid.*, 229-243; 'Indo-Iranian Studies, i.,' *AJPh.*, xxi. 1-22; 'Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence,' *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 549-588; 'Zur indogermanischen Syntax von **nāman*,' *IF.*, xi. 307-313; 'The Indo-Iranian Deity Apam Napāt,' *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, iii. 18-51; and 'Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name,' which forms the fifth Appendix of Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-273 (New York, 1899). I am also one of the regular contributors to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. Of my teachers my special thanks are due to Professors E. Y. Robbins and J. P. Hoskins, of Princeton, and at Columbia to Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, and Mr. Yohannan, and most of all to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ā* and *ō* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ū*, *ē*, or to *ü*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃*, *ṛ̂*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ̃* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

r, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *ə*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharat*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} 'ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj. *yaš(a)p*, Afy. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhi shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} , Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *īṅgāla*, Guj. *īṅgār*, *īṅgōl*, Mar. *īṅgāl*, *īṅgōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jīdhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pali *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhi *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pali *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pali *pañjara*, Uṛ. *piñjira*, Hindi *piñjar*, Sindhi *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pali *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindi *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhi *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindi *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yaē*, Sarq. *yuē*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *ḡayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afy. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiy. *ḡin*, Sarq. *ḡin*, *ḡin*, Minj. *ḡinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *ḡan*, *ḡin*, Zaf. *ḡan*, Afy. *ḡinaṭ*, *ḡinaṭ*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *ḡan*, *ḡin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

a > u.

§ 4. The change of *a* to *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original *a* to *u*.

a. Indian. As the change of *a* to *i* is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of *a* to *u* is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as *a* becomes *i* in Sindhi, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so *a* becomes *u* most often of all in Uṛīya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *prthaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jaina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *paññuvisati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāmkurī*, Bang. *kāmkur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mūḍgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muṇīrō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *aum̐lō*, Bihārī *aṅguri*, Hindī *uṅgālī*, *aṅguli*, Panj. *uṅguli*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. **manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *xʷatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *ciān*, Oss. *caūn*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxī *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *✓xʷan* 'call,' Phl.

xʷanʷanō, New Pers. *xʷāndan*, Wāxi *kādam*, Šiy. *šādam*, Sarq. *šādam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānay*, Kurd. *xʷāndin*, *xāndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(īh)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tānag*.

a > ā.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃṛddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samiddhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kāśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrem*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khatvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khatṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(ālā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālībā*, Braj *cālanāwīm*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālanēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sām̐c*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pālī *naḡga*, Ur. *naḡgalā*, Bang. *nēḡtā*, Hindī *naḡgā*, E. Panj. *naḡgā*, W. Panj. *nāḡgā*, Sindhī *naḡgō*, Guj. *nāḡuḡ*, Mar. *naḡgā*, *naḡgā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxi *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazāḡra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxi *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *tāθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *marī*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxi, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxi *sur(t)*, Gab. *sart*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. (*h*)*āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcaṡ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāši*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxi, Šiy. *xaš*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x'āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

$a > i$.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, etc. (see § 3).

$a > ū$.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maidyaṡa* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šir. *nīmik*.

a > *ě*.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjabi and Gujarati show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ě*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ě* is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Sinhalese, or by the Marāṭhi *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjabi change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindi *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindi *tērah*, W. Hindi *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindi *sēmh*, Hindi *sēmdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēmdhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *lahari* 'wave,' Hindi *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindi, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Sinh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(a)*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm., Ur., Bihārī, Hindi *aṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Sinh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kāśm. *maṁz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindi *majhi*, *māmjh*, *maṁh*, Panj. *māmjh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *maṁjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Sinh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' Ur. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindi

bāimān, Panj. *bāinām*, Mar. *bāimān*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kāśm. *satatājih*, Uṛ. *satcālīśa*, Bang. *śatcalīś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāimālis*, Panj. *samtālī*, Sindhī *satētālīh*, Guj. *suḍtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *dā*, Gīl. *dā*, *dū*, *dī*, Afy. *dā*, Kurd. *dē*, *dā*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kaštānō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šast*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šast*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷaəhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxī *xui*, Sarq. *yaxi*, Sangl. *ixʷa*, Minj. *yaxʷa*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *vozt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > ō.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uṛiya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uṛiya and Bangālī, and in Sirhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Uṛ. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhī *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

cōinc. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindi *ēgyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārah*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*, Simh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maðu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāś. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pāns*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afy. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > au.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāś. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujāna*, Oss. *fīcun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alamkāra*, *alamkia*, Pāli *lamkāra*, Elu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Ur., Bang. *heṭṭha*, Sindhi *heṭṭhe*, Guj. *heṭṭhe*, Mar. *heṭ*. Skt. *avataraṇa* 'rescue,' Ur. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindi *bacāinā*, Mar. *vacāvinēm*. Skt. *araṇya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Old Hindi *raṇj*, Hindi *ran*,

Sindhi *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣṭi* 'linseed,' Kāśm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēṣṭi*, Bang. *tiśi*, Hindi *tīṣṭi*, *alsi*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *aśōa*, Pāli *aśōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vaḷa*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angūst*, Wāxi *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *ašənga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *ašəgaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *aždā* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apəs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxi *vāz*, Sarq. *vūs*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāši*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərəməyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vör*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

Syncope of a.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < **pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggai*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāgana*, Bang. *jāgite*, Sindhi *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgarum*, Mar. *jāgaṇem*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindi *dublā*, Sindhi *ḍubirō*, *rabalō*, Guj.

dubal(a), Mar. *dubaḷ*. Skt. *cāmara* 'fly-whisk,' Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindi *cāuhri*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāuri*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yasatanqm* 'of the angels,' Phl. *yaštān*, *yaśdān*, New Pers. *yaśdān* 'God.' Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahn(ā)*, Afy. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Afy. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. *(ha)šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāe*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimi(š)*, *namāš*, *namēš*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vištā*, *viš(sā)*, Afy. *višt*, Bal. *gīst*.

Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindi. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindi *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindi *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāšm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindi *tērah*, W. Hindi *tērā*, Panj. *tērān*, Sindhi *tērahān*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* 'sharp,' Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēš*,

New Pers. *tēs*, Wāxi *tis*, Sarq. *tats*, Kurd. *tiš*(i). Av. *sarān* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiy. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl. *das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindi prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindi *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindi *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindi *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindi *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiy. *vrūy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vrāḡa*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burā*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stāra* 'star,' Phl. *starak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxi *vrāt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

ā = a.

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxi *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pai*, New Pers. *pai*, Waxi *pūð*, Šiy. *pāð*, Sangl. *pud*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt. *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāð*, *phās*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gādu*, Phl. *gas*, New Pers. *gah*, Afy. *yālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *maz*.

$\bar{a} > a$.

§ 16. The shortening of an original \bar{a} is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original \bar{a} under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original \bar{a} .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgasira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māmāgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahamga*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimāgā*, Sindhī *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaibōm*, Kāsm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khāñu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khānēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhar. Prāk. *bhāginējja*, Pāli *bhāginēyya*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Sinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yān*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbah*, Sarq. *rapē*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *artāv*, *ataf*. *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal.' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afy. *ōra*.

$\bar{a} > \bar{i}$.

§ 17. The change of \bar{a} to \bar{i} occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiy., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

$\bar{a} > \bar{u}$.

§ 18. The change of \bar{a} to \bar{u} is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects \bar{a} is changed to \bar{u} before *m* and *n*, as \bar{e} is changed to \bar{i} under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Uṛ. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpūs*. Hindi *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhi *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpīs*. Sinh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *sunha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*. Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afy. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiy. *rūn*, Afy. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tārəsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursay*, Kurd. *tarsunak*. Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 19. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pali *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēm*. Skt. *āśā* 'hope,' Mahar. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pali *ratti*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pali *ālōka* 'appearance,' Sinh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *vijār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjūr*, Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$.

§ 20. The change of \bar{a} to \check{o} seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālīsh, and in Afyān \bar{a} regularly becomes \check{o} , excepting before nasals, where the change is to \bar{u} (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of \bar{a} often tends to approach the value of \check{o} .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *rād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt. *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāṣ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt. *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āw*, Wāxi *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoṛa*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yayn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt. *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *ap*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi

nung, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *taš*, *atiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *ayapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāya* 'shadow,' Hindi *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chām̐m*, Panj. *chām*, *chām̐m*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chām̐y*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *nidda*, Hindi, Panj. *nimd*, Sindhi *nimr̐*, Guj. *nimdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrva* 'grass,' Pāli *dubba*, Ur., Bang. *dūba*, Hindi *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *maṭ-patīfrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *pat-fras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfrāh*, *pādafrāh*.

i = i.

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhi *vijum*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paṭ*, Šiy., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afy. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pālī *haliddā*, also Kāśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haludā*, Bihārī, Hindi *haldī*, Panj. *halādhī*, Guj. *halād*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pālī *iti*. Skt. *sīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pālī *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhilō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhīla*, Panj. *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhilō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *saḍhal*, *ḍhīla*. Skt., Pālī *kaṭhina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *kaṭhin*, Panj. *kaṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhin*. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīṇī*, Pālī *gabbbhīṇī*, Bang. *gābbhīna* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindi *gābbhin*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhī *gābbhīṇī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur. *divasa*, Pālī *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxi *zam*, Šiy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Wāxi *zik*, Šiy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *šiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *a*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *a* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pālī *ucchā*, Uṛ. *akhu*, *ūkha*, *ikha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindi *ikh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sinh. *ingu*, *uk*.

c

i > *u*.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uṛīya and Bangālī.

Skt. *raḥila* 'lizard,' Pālī *raḥula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jaina Prak., Pālī *usu*. Skt., Pālī *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindi, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhi *būnd*, *būmrō*, *ḥimrī*, Guj. *būnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindi *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tā(m)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *muḥah* 'eyelash,' beside *miḥah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kaš. *maja*, *muja*, *maḥa*, Bal. *micac*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *miḥānk*, *miḥī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tal. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

i > *ī*.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *a* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prak. *sīha*, Gāthā *simha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *sīngh*, *sīnh*, *siṅgh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Indian dialects *simh*. Skt. *jihva* 'tongue,' Prak. *jīhā*, *jibbha*, Pālī *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, Sindhi *jībḥ*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībḥ*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pālī *upastva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *viśat*, Pālī *viśam*, *viśati*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindi *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhi *viḥ*, Guj., Mar. *viś*. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṇī*, Pali *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaṇṇī*, Bang. *bhaṇ*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhaiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucīθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucīhr*, New Pers. *hustr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*. Av. *vicinōiθ* 'gathered,' Phl. *cītanō*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiṇjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapiṇjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xīšt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *cīs*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > a.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *a* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Uṛ. *akhu*, *ikha*, *ukha*, Hindi *ikh*, *ukh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > ē.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇedda*, *ṇidda*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pali *kēraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pali *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiṭī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtuli*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pali *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindi *sēmdūr*, Sindhi *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnc*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idāntm* 'now,' Prak., Pali *dāni(m)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vist*, New Pers. *bist*, Kā. *vista*, *vis(sa)*, Wā. *vist*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gist*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *xairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prak., Pali *diṭṭhi*, Hindi *d̥ṛṣṭi*, *d̥ṛṣṭh*, *d̥ṛṣṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *d̥ṛṣṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindi *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *šir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prak., Pali *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindi *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhi *istrī*, Elu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spē*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbē*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afy. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispi*, *spi*. Skt. *ṣṛgala* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškal*, Afy. *cayāl*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Afy. *γay*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iyosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *anaga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

$i = \bar{i}$.

§ 35. Indo-Iranian \bar{i} is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for \bar{i} exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindi often writes *iy* for \bar{i} (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindi *jīyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels \bar{e} , \bar{o} with the *ma'rūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūci, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *ma'rūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pali *jīvita*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dirha(ra)*, *diggha*, Pali *dirgha*, Sindhi *dirighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Štr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$\bar{i} > a$.

§ 36. The change of \bar{i} to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pali *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parikṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindi *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavun*, *parakhanār*, Sindhi *pārakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēm*, *parakhī*.

ī > i.

§ 37. The shortening of ī is naturally the most common change to which ī is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pali *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikhīṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pali *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alika* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pali *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, Uṛ. *dusra*, Old Hindi *dūjā*, Hindi *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)a*, Sindhi *bijō*, *biō*, Guj. *bijō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pali *ga(m)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gahira*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pali *k(h)īla*, Uṛ. *kīla*, Hindi *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhi *kīlī*, Mar. *kīllā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhi *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍā*, *kīḍ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sisṣa*, *sīsa*, Pali *sīsa*, Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Simh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pali *kittī* i Simh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jīvāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zindak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Štr., Šiy. *širin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

ī > u.

§ 38. The change of ī to u is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Simh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

ī > ā.

§ 39. The change of ī to ā is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pali *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

ī > ě.

§ 40. The change from ī to ě is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīḍṛśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kēṛisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhi *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pali *niḍḍha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pali *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pali *khēla*, Hindi *khelna*, Gyp. *✓khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

ī > ō.

§ 41. The change of ī to ō is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pali *tittha*, Sindhi *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sinjīr* 'chain,' Waxī *zanstīr*, Šiy. *zinsir*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamsīl*, Kurd. *zanjūr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of ī.

§ 42. The apocope of final ī occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindi *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gabhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

u = u.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian u is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaī*, Pāli *chupati*, Uṛ., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindi *chuh*, Hindi *chā*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhi *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *patirisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhi *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiya*, Maladive *firimitha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duyōdar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxi *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, ditt. Skt. *mudra* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrak*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mizur*.

u > a.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *punu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṣga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, Uṛ. *suḍaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindi *suranig*, Sindhi *siringh*, Mar. *suranig*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindi *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhi *kūbirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dābar*, Hindi *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhi *ḍūbirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *dubāl(ā)*, Mar. *dubāl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštūr*, Wāxi *uštūr*, Šiy. *štūr*, Bal. *huštār*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍūm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḍim*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *ḍimag*.

u > i.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *patirisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiya*, Maladive *firimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *valuka* 'sand,' Pāli *valukā*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *bālī*, Hindi *balā*, Sindhi *vārī*, Guj. *balu*, Mar. *valuya*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prak. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fīrth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohi*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxi *bōn*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

u > ā.

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmātī*.

u > ī.

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *strah*, Siv. *stīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *strah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sūr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dim*, etc. (see § 44).

u > ū.

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prak. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prak., Pāli *kula*, Uṛ. *kūla*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kul*, Mar. *kūl*, *kul*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prak. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindi *mūsāl*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prak., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prak. *sa-*

mudda, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Sinh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhi *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *peretu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukri *tūr*.

u > *ě*.

§ 49. The change of *u* to *ě* is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Ur. *phamsaphamsa*, *phāmphāni*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhi *phiphiru*, Mar. *phōpts*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šiy. *zašcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *ctan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čaun*.

u > *ǫ*.

§ 50. The change of *u* to *ǫ* is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *ma'rūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to *ǫ* is the change of *u* to *ö* in Wāxi and to *ü* in Sariqoli, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Ur. *ukhali*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Ur. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōṛī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍāl*, Sindhi *kōrari*, Guj. *kōdarō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prāk. *pothaa*, Pāli *pothaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthi*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* 'understanding,' Phl. (*h*)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* 'dawn,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suzra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yā*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of u.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. *√biḥ*, Uṛ. *Bang. basē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *batsē*, Sindhi *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' Uṛ. *ḍumuri*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Hindi *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxi, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxi *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštār*, *uštir*.

Syncope of u.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhu(d)a*, *dhi(d)a*, Pāli *dhita*, Uṛ. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dhi(ya)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhi(ya)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiśhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihxān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daiśhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bahā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *baha*, Hindī, Panj. *bām̐h*, Sindhi *bām̐h*, Guj. *bām̐hi*, Mar. *bām̐hi*, *bāhi*, *bāhu*.

Prothesis of u.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of u.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kāśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kāśm. *dyuṭhu*.

$$\bar{u} = \bar{u}.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian *ū* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhāmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindī, Panj. *bhām*, *bhūm̐m*, *bhūm̐*, Sindhi *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhāy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Gil. *dūr*, Waxī *dīr*, Šiy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *līri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

ā > a.

§ 57. The change of ā to a is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when ā often becomes a before nasals or r.

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jaina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jaina Prāk. *bhamuha*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *situry*, *sutury*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nān*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nān*.

ā > i.

§ 58. The change of ā to i is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Uṛ. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Sinh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mūšk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *maya(k)*, Bal. *mūšk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

ā > u.

§ 59. The shortening of ā to u is the most frequent change to which u is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese ā is always written u.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāśm. *mōl* (but *mūlai* 'radically'), Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jaina Prāk. *tudīya*, Pāli *turiya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhi, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śālaka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kāśm. *cūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindi *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindi *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhi *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kū(n)ām*, Sindhi *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūma*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *dhu(n)ām*, Sindhi *dhamhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buj*, Wāxi *buc*, *būc*, Šiy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *ruza*. Av. *gūza* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāś. *gūs*, Wāxi *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *yaθ*, Yayn. *yūt(ah)*, Afy. *yul*, N. Bal. *giθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nānam* 'now,' Av. *nūrom*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Paz. *ku*, New Pers. *kuja*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *radhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *radhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *batū*, Hindi *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhi *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*).]

ū > ā.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > ī.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* ' juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapī*, *b(h)ōrip*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dir*, Māz. *dir*, Wāxi *dir*, Afy. *liri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxi *dūt*, Šiy. *duđ*, Sarq. *dūt*, Afy. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *birūd*. Kurd. *barik* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 62. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ñēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pali *nūpura*, U_r. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śaur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindi *pūrah*, Sindhi *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš. Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sicīn*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šisan*, *šišin*, *šēšin*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pali *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pali *tambūla*, U_r. *tambōla*, Guj. *tāmbūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindi *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{a} > yah$.

§ 64. The interchange of \bar{a} and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afy. *zavara*, Bal. *zarāy*, Kurd. *zālū(g)*, *zulūl*, *zūrī*.

$\bar{a} > va$.

§ 65. The change of \bar{a} to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavisaī*, Kāśm. *kunavuh*, U_r. *unāīsa*, Bang. *ūniś*, Bihārī *ōnaīs*, *vanais*, Hindi *unīs*, Panj. *unnih*.

$\bar{r} = \check{r}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian \bar{r} , which is represented by \check{r} in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. Thus the usual change of *r* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *r* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit *r* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinaka*, *tilaka*, Hindi *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhi *tili*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

r > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *r* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kycl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiy. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarč*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxi *sūr(i)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

r > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *r* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pali *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāsm. *bor*, *boḍ*, U_r., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindi *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍo*, Guj. *vaḍḍo*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' U_r. *bur̥ha*, *buḍi*, Bang. *buḍa*, Hindi *buddha*, *budha*, Panj. *buḍha*, Sindhi *budho*, *buḍho*, Guj. *bur̥hō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *vasaha*, Pali *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pali *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pali *mattikā*, Nāip. *māmto*, Kāsm. *miṭ*, U_r., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Sindhi *miṭi*, Guj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍḍe*, U_r. *malā*, Hindi *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muḍ*, Guj. *muvun*, Mar. *mēlēh*, Sinh. *maḷa*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̥ḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

r > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vr̥acha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukkha*, *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pali *rukkha*, U_r. *rūkha*, Hindi *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukkha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vr̥kṣa*.]

r > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pali *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pali *vusa*, Sindhi *vir̥khu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kar̥ema* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

r > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

D

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhar. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāś. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindi *kūya*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *kr̥paṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdāṇka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Sinh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašay*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindi *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gid(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Uṛ. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindi, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhi *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Uṛ. *śiṅgā*, Bang. *śiṅg*, Hindi *śiṅg*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhi *siṅu*, Guj., Mar. *śiṅg*, Gyp. *šing*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāmū*, Sindhi *hināmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Uṛ. *piṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Sinh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *taṣiṇā*, Hindi *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, *ṭihāi*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirs*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriṣṭah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *gīaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r > ri.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindi and Panjabī; Sindhi and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛīya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddha* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pali *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pali *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindi *rich*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhi *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *ris*. Skt. *grhastha* 'householder,' Hindi *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhi *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > *ur*.

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavi and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərasahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *purst-
tanō*, New Pers. *pursidan*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pürsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

ṛ > *u*.

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛthivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puhuvī*, *puhavi*, Pali *pathavi*, *paṭhavi*, *puṭhuvī*, *puṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *munāla*, Pali *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū*, *riū*, Pali *utu*, Sindhi *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *ṛṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *ruṭṭhi*, *viṭṭhi*, Pali *ruṭṭhi*. Skt. *vrddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būrhā*, *būdī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindi *buddhā*, *būdhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhi *ḷudhō*, *ḷudhō*, Guj. *buṛhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxi *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərōta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuḍa*). Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxi *valk*, Bal. *guttiy*. Av. *fraterəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarstānō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *r* > *u* is *r* > *ö* before sibilants in Wāxi, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxi *kōšt*.]

r > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *r* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *r* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Prak. *rukḥa*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukḥa*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

r > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *r* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *krṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

r > *i*.

§ 77. The change of *r* to *i* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

r > *ē*.

§ 78. The change of *r* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prak. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kāš. *viša*, Māz., Tāl. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

r > *ō*.

§ 79. The change of *r* to *ō*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *r* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā, mūsā*, Pali *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvā, mūsāvā*, Pali *musāvādin*).

r > *al*.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *r* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākṛit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhāil, dhāil, dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg, valk*, Judæo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

r > *r*.

§ 81. The change of *r* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmāṭṛka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhi *jātrō*. Skt. *māṭṛka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhi *mātrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *r* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu, taṇu, tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pali *ghara, gaha, geḥa*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭi, māṭi, miṭṭi*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta, venta, vonta*, Pali *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi, risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi, piṭṭhi, puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭh, puṭh*, Guj. *piṭh, puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh, puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pali *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *tasīṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prak. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pr̥ḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gṛha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *parəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *par̥šti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

ṛ.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *ṛ*, arising from Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ī*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22-30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48-49, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *ṛ* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *ṛ*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prak. *titttha*, *tūha*, Pali *titttha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prak. *diraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pali *diḡha*, Sindhi *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afy. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

l.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

ē = *ē*.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian *ē* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhul ē* with the *maʾraf ī* has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between *ē* and *ī*.

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *liv*, Šiy. *ḍiv*, Sarq. *ḍēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vid*. Siv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vid*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

ē > *a*.

§ 86. The change of *ē* to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original *ē* unchanged (e.g. Skt. *eka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *miličchu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēaraḥa*, Pāli *ekādaśa*,

ekārāsa, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ. Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārān*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *iśma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hasang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of \bar{e} to i is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops i from \bar{e} before n .

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdana* 'pain,' Prak. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prak. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Uṛ. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhi *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *napá]deiros*, Phl. *dis*, New Pers. *dis*, *diš*, *dēs*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēhma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xāšin*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

§ 89. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where \bar{e} becomes \bar{i} regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Pāli. Prak.

mēkha, Pali *mēgha*, Hindi *mīmh*, *mēmh*, Panj. *mīmh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīmhū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmī. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tal. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivīl*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl. *axšīn*, New Pers. *axšīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sin*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dim*, Šīr. *Šīr.*, Zaf. *Kāš. dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *Šīy. yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *īx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *īx*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{o}$.

§ 90. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{o} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pali *veṭhana*, Sinh. *voṭunu*, New Sinh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

§ 91. The change of \bar{e} to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^aaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^aāi*, New Pers. *x^aai*, Wāxi *xīl*, Sarq. *xaid*, Afy. *x^aalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$.

§ 92. The change of \bar{e} to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prak. *ekka*, Pali *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur. *Bang. ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindi *ik(k)*, Hindi *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhi *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *aik*, Mar. *ek*, *yek*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ev(ak)*, Pāz. *ay*, New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxi *ī(v)*, Šīy. *yiv*,

yi, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *iki*, Dig. Oss. *yan*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēra* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*. New Pers., Wāzi, Šiy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphaeresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindi *rēṇḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Uṛ. *tal(ē)*, Hindi *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal*. Skt. *saṃgē* 'with,' Uṛ. *saṃgē*, Hindi, Panj. *saṃn*, Sindhi *sām*, Guj. *saṃn*, Mar. *saṃgēm*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaī*, Uṛ. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pichē*, *pacchē*, Hindi *pāchē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōn*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puān*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pachō*.

ai = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *ai* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *ai* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *ai* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

ai > ai.

§ 96. The change of *ai* to *ai* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saṃna*, *senna*, Pāli *sēniya*.

ai > *i*.

§ 97. The change of *ai* to *i* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prak. *dhira*, *dhijja*, Ur., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *dhir*.

ai > *ē*.

§ 98. The change of *ai* to *ē* is the normal one to which *ai* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prak., Pali *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prak., Pali *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindi *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prak., Pali *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gairika* 'red chalk,' Pali *gērika*, Ur. *gēru*, Hindi *gērā*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērā*.

ō = *o*.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian *ō* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese *ō*, although it is retained in the script, is pronounced *ū*. The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl* *ō* and the *maṭrūf* *ū* which has already been observed in the case of *ē* and *i* (see §§ 85, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between *ō* and *ū* (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prak. *bhōṇa*, Pali *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pali *yotta*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhi *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tal. *rōš*, *rūš*, Wāxi *rau*, Afy. *ra*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nay. *gūš*, Wāxi *yūš*, *yiš*, Šiyn. *yūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *yū*, Afy. *γaiy*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *baōibi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxi *vūl*, Sarq. *baō*, Yayn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōḍ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoša* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\delta > au$.

§ 100. The change of δ to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokēntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *saucagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\delta > a$.

§ 101. The change of δ to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghūm*, Sindhī *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcintanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil. $\sqrt{sūj}$, Sarq. *saus*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiy. *šaun*, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\delta > i$.

§ 102. The change of δ to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxi *yiš*, *γūš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\delta > u$.

§ 103. The change of δ to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of δ to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prak. *ruccat*, Māg. Prak. *lōadi*, Pali *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prak. *jōmha*, Pali *jumha*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prak. *uya*, Pali *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pali *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhi *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kāśmīrī *ō*, *u* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *i*, e. g. Kāśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kāśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūw*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl. New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Kāš. Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Šir., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *gūša*, Bohtani *kuši*.

ō > *i*.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *i* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōi* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Šiv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gil., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Šiv. *tīlā*.

ō > *ū*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *i* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gün(ah), Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hām*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gil. *√sāj*, Tag. Oss. *sājīn*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rāj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rōž*(*ž*), etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, *darōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$.

§ 106. The change of \bar{o} to \bar{e} is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindi *rēhā*, Hindi *rōhā*, Panj. *rēhā*, Sinh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēmhu*, Hindi *gēhum*, *ghēm*, *gō(m)hum*, Panj. *ghēm*, Sindhi *gēhum*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cūr*, excepting Kāśm. *čūr*, Sinh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$.

§ 107. The change of \bar{o} to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where \bar{o} is retained, and before *n*, where \bar{o} becomes *ū* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'car,' Afy. *γvaiy*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian $\bar{a}u$ has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which $\bar{a}u$ has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of $\bar{a}u$ to $\bar{a}v$ (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviya* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvicak*, *nāvlāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > *āū*.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *āū* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pali *pōra*. Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūrava*, Śaur. Prāk. *gōrava*. Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pali *mōli*.

āu > *u*.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pali *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Uṛ. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindi, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pali *ussukka*.

āu > *ā*.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhi *sūrihāī*.

āu > *ō*.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudī* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pali *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jorvaṇa*, Pali *yobbana*, Sindhi *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pali *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pali *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Uṛ., Bang. *jhūlī*, *jhuli*, *jhōlī*, Hindi *jhōlī*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahat*, *kahēi*, Pali *katheti*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Sinh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *eka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pali *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindi *ik(k)*, Hindi *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhi *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ek*, *aik*, Mar. (*y*)*ek*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *kiāh*. Av. *kərmaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > kh, x.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūči *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pali *khujja*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindi *kubjā*, *kubba*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubba*, *kūbā*, Sindhi *kuḍō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubadā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhar. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pali *kāsa*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *khāmsi*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pali *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Hindi *kuān*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindi *kōr*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pali *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxi *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargas*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākəm* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nāku*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

$k > g$.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Sindh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kīra*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindi *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhi *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sindh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhi *kāngu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kīh*, Wāxi *kui*, *koi*, Šīyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khi*. Av. *yakarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afy. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

$k > k_i$.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k_i* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kūh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš, Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, \check{c}$.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhi *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kāśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kāśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxi *kat*, Šiyn. *čēd*, Sarq. *čēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kərət*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārc(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(a)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sūzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *stč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcin*, N. Bal. *stšin*, *šisan*, *štšin*, *sčšin*, Kurd. *šūšin*.

$k > t$.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkika* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śikara* 'spray,' Prāk. *śi(h)ara*, *śibhara*, Pāli *śikara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narivaḷ*, Bang. *nārēḷ*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindi *nāriyaḷ*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhi *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Guj. *nāriyaḷ*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgara*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Sinh. *kovulla*, Anglo-Ind. *kotl*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Eļu *siyuru*, Sinh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikan* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *mādin*, *māsin*.

$k > v$.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Ur., Bang. *nēul*, Hindi *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhi *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Sinh. *kovulla*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāśatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarīṭanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārad*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tal. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

$k > ś$.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *ś* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišin*, *śišan*, *śišin*, *sēšin*, etc. (see § 118).

$k > h$.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriha*. Skt. *nikāśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanakāra* 'creator,' Sindhi *sirjanahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

k > s, š.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *s, š* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūsan*, *sōsan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōsō*, Kurd. *šūtin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddala* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhi *kōrari*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Uṛ., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhi *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhi *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhi *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāś. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukri *xānā*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *miōkxt*, Pāz. *miđuxt*.

lh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk. Pālī *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaṭ*, Pālī *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavun*, Mar. *lihinēn*, Simh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk. Pālī *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāṭ*, Pālī *khādati*, Ur. *khāṭā*, Bang. *khāṭṭe*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khānā*, Sindhī *khāṭnu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khānēn*, Simh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxi *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afy. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nāk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pālī *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pālī *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > gh, γ.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh, γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pali *rēkha*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *samkala*, *samkhala*, *sinkhala*, Pali *samkhalā*, Kāśm. *hāmhalā*, Uṛ. *sāmkala*, *sāmkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhi *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāmkal*, Mar. *sā(m)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākha* 'twig,' Phl. *śak*, New Pers. *šax*, *šay*.

kh > c.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > s.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > h.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pali *sakhi*, Sindhi *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pali *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(m)h*, Hindi *munh*, Panj. *mūnhu*, *muhuni*, Sindhi *mumhūn*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > y.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > v.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of kh

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xīšm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xīrs*, Māz. *āš*, Šīyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirc*, *hīrš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha;ik*, *hi*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *ama* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

g = g.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pali *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Pali *yugala*, Ur. *jugala*, Bang., Hindi, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šīyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gūrm*, *šūrm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gau* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vön. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šīyn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qag*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōy*.

g > k.

§ 141. The change of the voiced *g* to the voiceless *k* is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has *q* initially for Indo-Iranian *g* (Digaurish *γ*).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāiś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Sinh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gāhirō*, Sinh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *guš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γā*, Afy. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

g > gh, γ.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *g* is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *g* becomes *γ* regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmir dialects, in Afyān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian *g* becomes *γ* also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhi *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šīyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *γūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn.

yaš, Sarq. *yaul*, Yidg. *ya*, Afy. *yaiv*, Dig. Oss. *yoš*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaða* 'thief,' Afy. *yal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nā*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

g > y.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prak. *jaya*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, *jaḡaṭu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prak. *nayara*, Sinh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prak., Pāli *nāga*, Sinh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *saringūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

g > v.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpaṭ*, *maṇpaṭ*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōy*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargūš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

g > š.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *š* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šīynī and Sāriqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiyn. *šav*, Sarq. *šao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *šūrm*, *gūrm*, etc. (see § 140).

$g > h$.

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pali *bhāginējja*, Sinh. *bahāna*, *bāna*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadheya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadeha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pali *bhaga*. Skt. *śyāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pali *sigāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *śāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *agata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pali *diguṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūna*, Sindhi *dūṇa*, Mar. *dūn*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhatnī*, Pali *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhaunī*, *bhaṇī*, Bang. *batn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *juvaḷ*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

$gh = gh$.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindi *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēy*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīy*.

gh > k.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāy*, New Pers. *dāy*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > kh.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindi *mēnh*, *mīnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*.

gh > g.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur**, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighaṭatē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighaṭeti*, Ur., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindi, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhi *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagāḍ*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > h.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindi, Panj. *(a)rahaṭ*, Sindhi *ar(a)ḥu*, Guj. *rēmṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindi *mēnh*, *mīnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *rō Bayistavon ḡpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistān*, *bahistān*, *bistūn*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raya* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ɾ, ʁ

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhi, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ɾ, ʁ*, pronounced *ɾg* and *ɾi*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ɾ* and *ʁ* have been lost. The Sindhi *ɾ* and *ʁ* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavi and Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *cātvarī* 'four,' Prak. *cattāri*, *caūro*, Pali *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindi, Panj. *cār*, Sindhi *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nica*, Hindi *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhi, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš. *Vōn. cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *carra* 'wheel,' Phl. *carr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čira*, *šira*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafīrī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catuuarō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čtr*, Afy. *čalūr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiyn. *čem*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *para*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *parta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *pazavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fčun*, Tag. *fčin*.

c > *ch*.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūči.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > *j*.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *s* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhaulī) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōžēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. *✓sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sējal*, *svajavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sūjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *haca* + *ačairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *ačēr*, Pāz. *ačēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *kēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judæo-Pers. *šēr*, Kurd. *šr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocaŋ* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāš*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāš*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *uvāj*.

$c > j$.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *j* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sējal*, *svaj-avul*, *sēzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rāj*, Siv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rā*, but Tāl. *rōš*, *rāš*, Afy. *raš*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruš*, *rō(š)*.

$c > \text{ṭh}$.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *ṭh*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *ṭhōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindi *ṭhōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

$c > t$.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jaina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pali *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *ciš*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > \text{th}, \theta$.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th*, *θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$

§ 163. The change of c to d occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *ayariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prak. *mucāṭ*, Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, Pāli *muṇcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$.

§ 164. The change of c to y is only an apparent one, y being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of c (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *ayariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindi c is always pronounced s . The Sinhalese often changes c to s , which may further develop into h . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of s from c most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prak., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Uṛ. *caḥ*, E. Hindi *cāk*, W. Hindi *cakki* (pron. *sakki*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

$c > š$.

§ 166. The change of c to $š$ occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *s(i)*, Wāxi, Sarq. *s*, Afy. *š*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāruk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Siv. *rōša*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šir. *cūy*, Wāxi *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaiḥ*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

c > s.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *s* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāseēt*, New Pers. *tāsad*, Wāxi *tōcam*, Sarq. *tajam*, Afy. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucaḥ* 'day,' New Pers. *rōs*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāsad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judæo-Pers. *sāsad*.

c > š.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *š*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucitra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hušir*. Av. *raucaḥ* 'day,' Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rōš*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hasīš*, *kavīš*.

c > h.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Sinh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > č.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *č* is found occasionally in the North Balūči.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

F

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaana*, *vacana*, Pali *vacana*, Sindhi *vacanu*. Skt. *sūci* 'needle,' Prāk. *sū*, Pali *sūci*, Ur., Bang. *sūci*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *sū*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *su*, Gyp. *su*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapuḍanu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭanēm*, *ṭap*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*) *chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindi *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhi *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭanēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhi *ṭapuḍanu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *ṭap*, *ṭhapanu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Hindi *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭō*

panā, tōpanā, Sindhi *ṭhapaṇu, ṭapaḍaṇu*, Mar. *ṭhapakā, ṭap*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *t*.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \checkmark *chap* 'go,' Hindi *tōpanā, ṭōpanā, ṭīpanā, ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *s*.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛchati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaṭ*, Pāli *pucchati*, Uṛ. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindi *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhi *puchaṇu*, Guj. *puchavuni*, Mar. *pusanēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā, chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām(v), chāmḥ, chāōm*, Panj. *cā(u)ṇi*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*: Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

j = *j*.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṃgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṃgha*, Nāip. *jāṇ*, Bang. *jāṃgī*, E. Hindi, Hindi *jāṃgh*, Panj. *jāṃgh*, Sindhi *jaṃgh*, *jāṃgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṃghā, jāṃgh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātṛjāyā* 'brother's wife,' Uṛ., Bang. *bhātāja*, Hindi *bhāṭj, bhāvaj, bhāṇjī, bhōjāi*, Sindhi *bhōjāi*, Mar. *bhāvajāi*. Skt. *bhrātṛja* 'nephew,' Hindi, Panj., Guj. *bhātījā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Siv. *ḱin*, Zaf. *ḱan*, Kāš. *Kuhr. jan, jin, yan, ḱan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *ḱanikō*, Šīyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin, ḱin*, Minj. *ḱinga*, Afy. *jinaṭ, jūnaṭ, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *ḱin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

sanad, Zaf. *batint*, Kāś. *jidān*, Kuhr. *jindamān*, Šīyn. *stnam*, Sarq. *sanam*, Afy. *tanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *sanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bās*, *bāš*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brījag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh, \gamma*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šīyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *kin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāśāci Prakrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhar. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāś. Prāk. *rācā*, Pali *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Sinh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccat*, Pali *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhāuli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindi *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *janigali*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhi *jhanigali*. Skt., Prāk., Pali *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Naip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *zō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhi *jibh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchat*, *du(g)umchat*, *jhunat*, *juucchat*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *tēda*.

j > y.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* 'herd,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* 'elephant,' Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Gab. *yan(ak)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > v.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* 'of a king,' Prāk. *rāṇṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399-400.]

j > z.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kāśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbarhāt and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* 'water,' Ass., Kāśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivāhy*, Phl. *stvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zistan*, Kāš. *vasandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *švand(ān)*,

Kurd. *šin*, *šiin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtani *vēsār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *sufar*, *safr*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judæo-Pers. *šūrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *šūr*, Zaza *jör*.

j > *š*.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *š*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Siv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kaš., Kuhr. *šan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *kanikō*, Sarq. *šin*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Kurd. *šin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *švand(ān)*, Kurd. *šiin*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *šarf*, Afy. *šavar*, Kurd. *šūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirēš*.

Syncope of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindi *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

jh = *jh*.

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

jh > *j*.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *ʒ*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *ʒ* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kāśmīrī is pronounced *ʒ*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *ʒāl*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindi *jhal*.

ṭ = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuṭṭat*, *tōḍat*, Ur. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍattē*, Sindhi *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭarun*, *tōḍarun*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōḍanēm*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindi *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *ṛ* and this *ṛ* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍaī*, Pāli *aṭavi*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindi *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kīḍa*, Pāli *kīṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kīḍa*, Sindhi *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍ*, *kīḍā*, Gyp. *kiri*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Ur. *karai*, *kahrāi*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhaī*, Sinh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saadhā*, Pali *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindi *akhārḥ*, Hindi *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍa*.

ṭ > ṭ.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian ṭ to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

ṭ > *p*.

§ 195. The change of ṭ to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kaḷōpi*.

ṭ > *r*.

§ 196. The change of ṭ to *r* (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karat*, *kahrāt*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

ṭ > *l*.

§ 197. The change of ṭ to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kak-kaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluwā*, *kakuḷuwā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindi *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

ṭ > *l*.

§ 198. The change of ṭ to *l* occurs especially in Sinhalese, where *l* and *ḷ* are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between *l* and *ḷ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kāḍa*, Pāli *kaṭa*, Sinh. *kuḷu*. Skt. *sphoṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭat*, *phuḍat*, Pāli

phuṭati, Hindi *phūṭ*, Panj. *phuṭṭ*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Sinh. *poḷanavā*.

ṭh = *ṭh*.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhi*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

ṭh > *t*.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhāri*, Ur. *kuṭāri*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭāḍi*, Bang. *kurhid*, *kurhāḍi*, Biharī, Hindi *kulhāri*, *kuhāḍa*, Panj. *kuhāḍa*, *kumlhārā*, *kulhāḍa*, Sindhi, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāi*, *kurhār*.

ṭh > *ḍ*.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhi *pēḍahi*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhite*, Hindi, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhi *paḍahanu*, Guj. *paḍhavum*, Mar. *paḍhanēh*.

ṭh > *ḍh*.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindi, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kurhid*, *kurhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhai*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

$\ddot{t}h > r\dot{h}, r\ddot{h}.$

§ 203. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to $r\dot{h}$, $r\ddot{h}$, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of $\ddot{t}h$ to $\dot{d}h$.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kurhāḍ*, *kurhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\ddot{t}h > ll.$

§ 204. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to ll is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *anākōṭha*, *anākōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *amkolla*, Pāli *amkōla*, Guj., Mar. *amkōl*.

$\ddot{t}h > lh.$

§ 205. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to lh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuḥāri*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuḥāḍā*, *kumḥārā*, *kuhāḍā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Mag. Prāk. *kuḍhale*, Bihārī *kōlhā*.

$\ddot{t}h > h.$

§ 206. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to h is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhāḍā*, *kuḥāri*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kuḥāḍā*, *kumḥārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

$\ddot{t}h > hr.$

§ 207. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to hr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhrāri*, *kuṭāḍi*, *kuṭāri*, etc. (see § 200).

$\dot{d} = \dot{d}.$

§ 208. Indian \dot{d} is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷana*, *pellana*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *pēḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēḷanā*, *vēḷanā*, Sindhī *pīḍaṇu*, *pīraṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*.

$\dot{q} > \dot{t}$.

§ 209. The change of \dot{q} to \dot{t} occurs regularly in the Paisāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiśa*, *baḍiśa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍisa*, *balisa*, Paisā. Prāk. *vaṭisa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindi *balia*.

$\dot{q} > d$.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian \dot{q} occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. $\sqrt{\dot{q}ap}$ 'to collect,' Uṛ. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindi *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhi *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavum*, Mar. *dabaṇēm*.

$\dot{q} > \dot{r}, r$.

§ 211. The change of \dot{q} to \dot{r}, r , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an \dot{r} developed from an original \dot{q} may often become r , and indeed in Hindi \dot{r} and r are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, \dot{q} is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes \dot{r}, r (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhi *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, Sinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\dot{q} > l$.

§ 212. The change of \dot{q} to l is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian \dot{q} is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālīma*, Prāk. *ḍālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindi *dārim*, Sindhi *ḍārhum*. Skt. *kṛḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlat*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlati*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kāsm. *surāh*, Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\dot{q} > \dot{l}$.

§ 213. The change of \dot{q} to \dot{l} which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *piḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *piḷaṇēṇ*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pali *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlau*, Guj. *kōḷo*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pali *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōlām*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḍh > ṛh

§ 214. The change of *ḍh* to *ṛh* is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *māṛhu*.

ḍh > r

§ 215. The change of *ḍh* to *r* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *māḍhattaṇa*, Hindi *mārakhapan*, Panj. *mārakhapūṇā*.

ḍh > l, lh

§ 216. The change of *ḍh* to *l, lh*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāi*, Hindi *dulhā*. Skt. *udvāḍhā* 'bride,' Hindi *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhi*.

ḍh > ḷ, ḷh

§ 217. The change of *ḍh* to *ḷ, ḷh*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *drḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pali *daḷha*, Sinh. *dala*.

ṇ > n

§ 218. The change of *ṇ* to *n* is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāṣāṇī Prākṛit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇagaṇayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāṣ. Prāk. *guṇaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāmhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*.

ṇ > ḷ, ḷ

§ 219. The change of *ṇ* to *ḷ, ḷ*, is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prak. *vāṇi(j)a*, Sinh. *veḷamāḍḍi*, *veṇamāḍa*.

$t = t$.

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak., Pali *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmth*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōmḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōmḍa*, *tuṇḍ*, *tund*, *dōmḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pali *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prak. *udu* (Śaur. and Mag.), *uu*, *riu*, Pali *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl. *tan*, New Pers. *tan*, Wāxi *tan*, Šiyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxi *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidita* 'seen,' Phl. *dišō*, New Pers. *didah*, Bal. *diṭa*, Kurd. *diṭ*.

$t > i$.

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ḍ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxi *kat*, Šiyn. *čid*, Sarq. *čid*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gil. *brār*, Wāxi *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brūθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxi *višt*, Sarq. *višt*, Bal. *gišt*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$t > g$.

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātars* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. *(ā)taš*, *atiš*,

Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhai*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pali *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Uṛ. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindi, Panj. *thē*, Sindhi *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kāśmīri under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kāśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *mūč* < **moti*.]

$t > ṭ$.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Uṛ., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindi *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhi *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pali *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, Uṛ., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbun*, Mar. *tāmbēn*, Sinh. *tambara*.

$t > ṭh$.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vr̥tti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhi *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍat*, Pali *patati*, Uṛ. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍanā*, Hindi *paṛanā*, Sindhi *pavanu*, Guj. *paḍavun*, Mar. *paḍanēm*, *paṛanēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pali *patākā*. Skt. *taḥṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhi *ḍakhanu*.

$t > th, \theta$.

§ 227. The change of t to th, θ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of t to θ according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting th developed from t in North Balūci and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prak. *thippat*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pali *āpūtha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxi *θavam*, Šiyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *taršidan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dāθa*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis t to the media d is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prak. *tattō*, Śāur. Prak. *tadō*, Apab. Prak. *dan*, Pali *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prak. *dāva*, Pali *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prak. *gaḍe*, Pāiś. Prak. *gata*, Apab. Prak. *gadu*, Pali *gata*, Sinh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prak. *kaḍe*, *kaḍe*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prak. *kala*, Pāiś. Prak. *kata*, Apab. Prak. *kidu*, Pali *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindi *kīya*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prak. *ua*, Pali *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prak. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vaḍ*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vön., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vaḍ*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vṛōd*, Sangl. *vurā*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēt, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Siv. *vi*, Zaf. *vē*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vi*, *bi*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

$t > y$.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Siv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, Šiyn. *mad*, Minj. *māya*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piť(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šiyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

$t > r$.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāśm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhi *satari*, Guj. *siṭer*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > l$.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$.

§ 232. The change of t to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic t (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pali *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *mā*, Pali *mātar*, Hindi *mā(t)*, *māu*, Panj. *māṛ*, *māṛh*, *māhu*, *mā(t)*, Sindhi *māṛ*, Elu *mava*, Sinh. *ma(v)u*, *mā*.

$t > s$.

§ 233. The change of t to s is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pali *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāṭa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṭ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$.

§ 234. The change of t to h is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the h is a further development of the s arising from an original t (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pali *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian t is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *catūṭtha*, *catūṭṭha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāwīthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Pali *sata*, Kāśm. *hath*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sīu*, Sindhi *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prak. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhi *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prak. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhi *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *ma(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mā*, Tāt. *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *sūt*, New Pers. *sūd*, Māz. *st*, Tāl. Tāt. *sū*, Bal. *sūt*, *sīt*, N. Bal. *stō*, Kurd. *sū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl. New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōsa*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istir*, *asr*.

th = th.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māṭhā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhi *mathaṇu*, Guj. *matharum*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(n)thaṇēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prak. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl. New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxi *gū*, *gi*, Šīyn. *yaθ*, Yāyn. *yūt(ah)*, Afy. *yul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > ṭh.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pali *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pikir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhelō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sinh. *paḷamu*.

th > ḍh.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *śiḍhila*, Pali *sīthila*, *saṭhila*, Uṛ. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhi *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhi*, *mēḍhā*.

th > t.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūčī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pali *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraṣanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *taḷēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēdāna* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > ḍh.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāśā. Prāk. *adha*, Pali *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pali *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pali *vēdhati*.

th > y.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pali *ratha*, Sinh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237).
Av. *gūða* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *l̥*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̥* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavat*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pali *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahana*, Pali *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindi *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhi *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavum*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pali *gāthā*, Old Hindi *gāhā*, Sindhi *gāt*. Skt. *prth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puḍhavi*, Pali *pathavi*, *puthavi*, *puthuvi*, *paṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl. New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *ṛahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūða* 'excrement,' Phl. New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanəm* 'of creatures,' Phl. New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d̥*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d̥* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śaur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pali *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhi *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pali *dasati*, Uṛ. *daṣkibā*, *daṣs*, Bang. *daṣs*, *ḍaṣs(a)*, Hindi *daṣs(ak)*, *ḍaṣmik*, Sindhi *ḍaṣgaṇu*, Mar. *daṣs*, *ḍaṣcaṇem*, *daṣkhaṇem*, *ḍaṣaṇem*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jaṣ*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pali *yadi*, Hindi *jaḍ*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhi *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānt*, New Pers. *dim*, Štr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dām*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxi *dündük*, Šīyn., Sarq. *dandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pād*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yāyn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, Zaza *pai*.

d > i.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

d > kh, x.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihustan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

d > g.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pali *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

d > jh.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk.

dhada, *dhida*, Pali *dhita*, *dhītara*, Ass. ji, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dhū(ya)*, Sindhi *dhū*, *dhūy*, Guj. *dhī(ya)*.

$d > ḍ$.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *d* is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prak. *ḍahat*, Pali *ḍahati*, Hindi *ḍāh*, *dāh*, Sindhi *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prak. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jaina Prak. *ḍaya*, Pali *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindi *ḍāmik*, *damś(ak)*, Sindhi *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍamcanēm*, *ḍasanēm*, *damkhanēm*, *damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pali *pavāda*, Hindi, Sindhi *pavār*, Guj. *pavāḍ*, Mar. *pavāḍā*. Skt. *dōla* 'swing,' Prak. *ḍōla*, Pali *dōla*, Bihari *ḍōr*, *dōr*, Hindi *ḍōl(ā)*, *ḍōlt*, *dōl(ā)*, *dōlik*, Panj., Sindhi *ḍōlt*, Guj. *ḍōlt*, *ḍōlavun*, Mar. *ḍōla*, *ḍōlt*, *ḍōlā*, *dōlt*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$d > t$.

§ 252. The change of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāṣāṇī Prakrit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāṣ. Prak. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāṣ. Prak. *patēsa*, Pali *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jaina Prak. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$d > th$.

§ 253. The change of *d* to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dāḡanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādia*, Gil. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxi *raḍān*, Šiyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *ḍām*, Afy. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzgōš* 'hare, donkey').

$d > dh$, *ḍ*.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original *d* is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prak. *dhū(y)ā*, Śaur. Prak. *dhūda*, *dhīda*, Pali *dhita*, *dhītara*, Hindi, Panj. *dhū(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhū(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dr̥m̐hita* 'firm,' Jaina Prak. *dhaniya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šīyn. *ðis*, *lis*, Sarq. *ðēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxi *radān*, Šīyn. *diam*, Sarq. *dām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxi *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pad*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *xʷadā* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷedē*, *xʷai*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Wāxi *xil*, Sarq. *xaid*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > n.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvācdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > y.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prak. *khāta*, Māhar. Prak. *khāya*, Pali *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prak. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pali *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiām*, Sindhi *himumu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēśa* 'order,' Pali *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āesu*, *āyasu*, *ātsu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prak. *pāda*, Māhar. Prak. *pāda*, Hindi *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pām*, Sirhh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xatn. Phl. *xadā(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayā*, *xadā*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhtv*, *bātō*.

$d > r$.

§ 257. The change of *d* to *r* is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādrśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāś. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pali *tādisa*. Skt. *etādrśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēūrisa*, Pali *ērisa*, *ēdisa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pali *ekarasa*, *ekadasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *egāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

$d > l$.

§ 258. The change of *d* to *l* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jaina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palit*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pali *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxi *las*, *das*, Šiyn. *lis*, *dis*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *xʾatūi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukri *xola*. Av. *fraşgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *şyalt*.

$d > l$.

§ 259. The change of *d* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *dōhala*, Pali *dōhala*.

$d > v$.

§ 260. The change of *d* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karali*, *kayali*, *kēli*, Pāli *kadali*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhi *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍḍo*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > h.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' Uṛ. *pāli*, Bang. *pāi*, Hindī *pāi*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhiv*, *batv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇai*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēli*, *kayali*, *karali*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhi *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, Uṛ. *khāṭba*, Bang. *khāṭṭe*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhi *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāṇēh*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *sarāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhi *sarāṭ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gil. *nāramah*, but *bādām* 'I give.' Skt. *pādika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paññaraha*, Pali *pañcadasa*, Kāśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōñēra*, Bihārī *pandarah*, Hindi *pandrah*, Panj. *paṁdarām*, Sindhi *paṁdraham*, *paṁdhrām*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

dh = *dh*.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pali *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindi *dhāulā*, Sindhi *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlun*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhavāl*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindi *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pali *khudā*, Hindi *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōt*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > *ḍ*.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhuntō*, Hindi, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, Sindhi *ḍiṭhu*.

dh > *ḍh*.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindi, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkat*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāṁkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitē*, Hindi *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *dhakkā*, Sindhi *ḍhakanu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāṁkavun*, Mar. *dhāṁkanēm*.

dh > *t*.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharaṭ*, Pali *dhāreṭi*, Sinh. *terenavā*, *daranava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharma* 'virtue,' Prak., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Elu *daham*, Sinh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattāra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Uṛ. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhi *dhātūrō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prak. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhi *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sānnirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sannirumbhati*, *sannirumbhati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prak. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Sinh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *maṣu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Wāxi *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Siṃh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuṣadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsadha*, Pali *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pali *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhi *sāu*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pali *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindi *bahirā*, Sindhi *bōrō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Siṃh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gāhūm*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(n)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēm*, Panj. *ghēm*, Sindhi *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pali *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindi *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhi *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindi *ghēm*, *gēhūm*, *gō(n)hūm*, Panj. *ghēm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bivā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaḷ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jēr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zēr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav, nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Ur. *nuhāi*, Bang. *nām, nuya*, Hindi *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhi *naṁvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna, nāhāna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāunā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ, nāhaṇēṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṁan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak, nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō, nav*, Šiyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nau, navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *san*, Gab. *jan, yan(ak)*, Siv. *kin*, Zaf. *kan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *kanikō*, Šiyn. *yin*, Sarq. *yin, kin*, Minj. *kinga*, Afy. *jinai, jūnai, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *kin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhi, which alone preserves *ṇ, ṇ̄*, pronounced *ṇg* and *ṇ̄* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Ur., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhi *thaṇu, thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindi *mannā*, Sindhi *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to η throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *naḍī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇai*, Pāli *naḍī*, New Ind. dialects *naḍī*, W. Bang. also *laḍī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacāṇa*, Māhar. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gathā *khaṇēt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pali *dhēnu*, Sindhi *dhēnu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Siv. *bān*, Kāš. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pali *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāū*, Pali *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thanī*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thanā*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, Hindi *thānā*, *ṭhāūnā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhi *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Simh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *enas* 'fault,' Pali *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pali *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindi *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pali *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindi *nōnī*, Mar. *lōnī*. Skt., Prāk., Pali *nīla* 'blue,' Kāsm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pali *vana*, Simh. *val*, Maladive *valī*. Skt., Prāk., Pali *nava* 'new,' Simh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jainī* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jīnāi*, *jūnāi*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > l$

§ 282. The change of *n* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pali *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tal. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of *n*.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhānu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(ṣh)*, *ṭhā(ṣh)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrān*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tāvistān* 'summer,' Siv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pašin* 'hinder,' Kurd. *paši*.

Prothesis of *n*.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *āīnīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *āīnah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of *n*.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazānra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hansār*.

$$p = p.$$

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *pice*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *paṭ(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindi *pachē*, *pichē*, *pāchā*, *pichā*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. *✓pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pik*, *pikā*. Skt. *✓chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭipānā*, *thapanā*, Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu*, *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-nēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapaḱā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pali *japana* 'muttering,' Hindi *ja(m)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāša* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *puš*, Šīyn. *pāš*, Sarq. *paš*, Sangl. *puš*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Paz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Yazdi *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxi *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yayn. *āp*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipilika* 'ant,' Pali *kipillika*, *pipilika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > ph, f.$$

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūči, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paraṣa* 'rough,' Pali *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phalihadda*, Pali *phalibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pali *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindi *puhupa*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phul*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pali *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Uṛ. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhi *phāsi*, *phāhi*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *paṣē*, New Pers. *pasad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phaṣay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fīcun*, Tag. *fīcin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thāf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tal. *šav*, Tat *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

p > b.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pali *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāṭ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pali (a)*pi*, Sindhi *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *ṭhāvēi*, Pali *ṭhāpeti*, Uṛ. *thuiḃa*, Bang. *thātē*, Hindi, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāparum*, Mar. *thāpanēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pali *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabatar*, Wāxi *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuwā*, Afy. *kautar*,

H

kavntar, Bal. *kapôt*, *qotar*, Kurd. *kavôk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šīyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āw*, Afy. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapē*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*.

p > m.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēda*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phin*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindi, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhi *kaṁchā*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāta*, Uṛ. *saṭyāt*, Bang. *saṭyā*, Hindi *savā*, W. Hindi *samā*, Panj. *savā(ṭā)*, Sindhi *savāt*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

p > y.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindi *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

p > v.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kāśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhā*,

ujjhā, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Osa. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zaf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyā*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gil. *Tāl*, Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovv*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Osa. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rāvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapiñjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

Syncope of p.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaṭṭa*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāsm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *ku(m)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Ur. *kaṭṭa*, Hindī *kaṭṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = ph.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Osa. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Osa. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūči, where inter-vocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūči has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phadīṇga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṇga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindi *saharī*, Panj. *saṭl*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōv* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindi *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

- a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saṭṭ*, etc. (see § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

- b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciū*.

$$b = b.$$

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṃdhat*, Pāli *baṃdhati*, Hindi *bāndh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhi *bāndh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhat*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *saṃjhāadi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *bājhana*, Hindi *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baršaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baršidan*, Afy. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *barəs* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burs*, Kurd. *bars*, Oss. *barsond*.

$$b > p.$$

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *badha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhāuli) *pādha*, Māhar. Prāk. *badha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

$$b > bh.$$

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

- a. Indian. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

$$b > m.$$

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brūhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūidi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamandha*, *kayamdhā*.

b > *y*.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayamḍha*, *kamamḍha*.

b > *v*.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindi reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjabi uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pali *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pali *vamjjhā*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, Sindhi *vāmjh*, Marvari *bāmjhadi*, Guj. *vāmjham*, Mar. *vāmjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxi *buc*, *būc*, Šiyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afy. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piat*, Pali *pibati*, Sinh. *bonavā*, caus. *poranavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ḍām*, *ḍāmbā*, Afy. *lam*, Kurd. *dāv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

bh = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prak. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prak., Pali *bhāmi* 'earth,' Uṛ. *bhāma*, *bhūrin*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindi *bhām*, *bhūin*, *bhūrin*, Panj. *bhūin*, *bhām*, *bhūrin*, *bhōrin*, Sindhi *bhū(in)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

bh > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābha* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šīn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bostani *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiuirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *urnavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmān*, Wāxi *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afy. *ḍdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafay*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prak. *bhaṇi*, *bahini*, Pali *bhagini*, Kāśm. *byaṇ*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇi*, *bhaṇi*, Bang. *baṇ*, Hindi

bahin, Panj. *bhain*, *bāinh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bhaṇḡā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baṇha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afy. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇat*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

bh > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindi, Panj. *hōmḍi*, Sindhi *hamḍi*, Guj. *hāmḍi*, Mar. *hāmḍi*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahat*, Pāli *labhati*, Uṛ. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindi *laha*, Hindi *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lai*, Sindhi *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaṭ*, *bhavaṭ*, Pāli. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Uṛ. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindi *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhi *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇem*.

m = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kaśm. *mañs*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *manjhola*, Panj. *māñjh*, *mājih*, Sindhi *manjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍe*, Ur. *malā*, Hindī *muḍ*, Panj. *muḍ*, Sindhi *muḍ*, Guj. *muḍuṁ*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pali *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamañēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pali *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhi *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*, Šiyn. *madāna*, Sarq. *madān*, Afy. *manj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərōta* 'dead,' Phl. *marj* 'mortal,' New Pers. *marḍ*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *sam*, Wāxi *sam*, Šiyn. *simj*, *sinj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *kimai*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Grī. *nōm*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namthiḥa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

m > n.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namthiḥa*, etc. (see preceding §).

m > ŋg.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ŋg* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxi *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

m > ph, f.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afy. *lūm*, Kurd. *daḥ*.

m > b.

§ 323. The change of *m* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūṃṣ*, Uṛ. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhatṃs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāṃs*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindi *bhāṃs*, *mhāṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhi *manjh*, *māmhī*, Guj. *bhēṃs*, *bhāṃs*, *bhāṃh*, Mar. *bhāṃs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *maṇḍrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* (*m > b* by dissimilation).

m > v.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of *m* to *v* is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivanyu*, *ahimanyu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *nīmāṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vivāṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmālā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindi, Panj. *āmvalā*, Sindhi *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāmvar*, Hindi *sāmvalā*, W. Hindi *sāmveraū*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhi *sāmvalu*, *sāmviru*, Mar. *sāmvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvi*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāmī*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Siv., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navūš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nivēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *nīv*.

m > s.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jaina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmāra*, Bihārī *bhāumrā*, Hindi *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Panj. *bhamur*, Sindhi *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > ṁ.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *ṁ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pali *nāman* 'name,' Hindi *nānv*, Panj. *nātūm*, Sindhi *nāmūm*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pali *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindi *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhōim*, *bhūm*, Sindhi *bhūim*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pali *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvam*, Hindi, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhi *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsātūm*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pali *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kāsm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *dhūmām*, *dhūām*, Sindhi *duṁhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinh. *dum*.

m > m̐.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *m̐* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindi *nāmv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pali *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindi *kumvar*, Panj. *kanvar*, Mar. *kumvar*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahām*. Skt. *idāntm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidālōkika 'temporal,' Skt., Pali *nēmi* 'circumference,' Uṛ. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *nēv*, Panj. *niūm*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāumr*, *camarā*, Hindi *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhi *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhuām*, Hindi, Panj. *dhuām*, *dhu-mām*, etc. (see § 826). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindi *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāuṇā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gādumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *ganṭum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxi *yidīmi*, Šīyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *sandam*, *sandum*, Sangl., Minj. *yandam*, Yidg. *yaḍum*, Afy. *yanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

Epenthesis of m, ṁ.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *ṁ*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jaina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṣa*, Kāśm. *mūṣṣ*, Bang. *bhatṁs*, Bihārī *bhāiṁs*, *mhāiṣ*, *mahiṣ*, *bahiṣ*, Hindi *bhāiṁs*, *mhāiṁs*, Sindhi *māmjh*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēṁs*, *bhaiṁs*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāiṁs*, *mhāiṣ*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhi*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Bihārī *chāmḥ*, Hindi *chām*, *chāmṣ*, *chāmḥ*, *chāṁṣ*, Panj. *chām*, *chāum*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajja* 'modesty,' Uṛ., Old Bang., Hindi *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhi *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sinh. *lānda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmunṣ*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvams*, *gvabs*. New Pers.

pōs 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pās*, Sangl. *fusik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōsa*, *para*, Bal. *pōns*, *pōs*, N. Bal. *phōns*, *phōs*, Kurd. *pās*, *pōs*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *finj*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 8 a. pres. *hambēš*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihumbidan*, Kurd. *niziftin*.

y = y.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'futuṭ,' Sindhi *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prak., Pali *dayalu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dayal(u)*, Sindhi *ḍayalu*, Guj., Mar. *dayal(u)*. Skt. *hrdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāś. Prak. *hitaaka*, Pali *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaʿyn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afy. *sēšī*, Bal. *sāyag*, N. Bal. *sāy*, Kurd. *sāin*, Oss. *sāyi*.

y > j.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindi and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhi, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 306). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afyān, Balūčī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pālī *ya*, U_r., Bang. *jē*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pālī *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pālī *yobbana*, Sindhi *jōbbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pālī *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pālī *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U_r. *jēṭhā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindi *jahāni*, Panj. *jithhē*, Sindhi *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhām*, Mar. *jēthēh*, *jithhē*. Skt., Pālī *yāna* 'vehicle,' U_r. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindi *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāñēh*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuzta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *jušt*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

y > b.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pālī *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pālī *jalābu*, Siṃh. *dalābu*.

y > bh.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pālī *sarabhu*.

y > r.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pālī *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pālī *nahāru*, Siṃh. *naharaya*.

y > l.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pālī *laṭṭhi*, U_r., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindi *laṭ(ṭi)*, *lāṭhi*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *lāṭhi*, Guj. *laṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtāyati* 'illuminates,' Pālī

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prak., Pāli *tavattisa*, Kāśm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāimtis*, cf. archaic Sinh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prak. *āuha*, Pāli Prak. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Sinh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prak. *chāha* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhina*, Hindi *chāmḥ, chām(v), chāōm*, Panj. *ca(ū)ḥ*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*. Skt. *raṇāṇ-jaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇāṇjaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

Apocope of y.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindi *jūḥ*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yusmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yusmākam*, Pāz., New Pers. *sumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

Syncope of y.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prak. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hīa, hiaya*, Pāli Prak. *hitaaka*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāḥ, hiyām*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prak. *vāu*, Pāli *vāyu*, Ur. *bōa*, Bang., Hindi *bāḥ, bāo*, Panj. *vāu*, Sindhi *bāḥ, vāu*, Guj. *vā(ṛ)*, Mar. *vāu*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Uṛ. *dēul*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvala*, Sindhi *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śaur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *avirbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvihotta*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šīyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *ac*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afy. *as*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amīy*, New Pers. *am*, Afy. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Sinh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

aya > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhareī*, Pāli *dhāreṭi*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śaur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēṭi*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nei*, Śaur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāli *neti*, Pāli *nayati*, *neti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khaī*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Uṛ. *bhē*, Hindi, Panj. *bhai*, Sindhi *bhai*, *bhai*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindi, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhi *nēnu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēnn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Simh. *mañṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Simh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *sayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmīr dialects *stā*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāšm., Uṛ. *mōr*, Sindhi *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > ē, āi.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsī), *trāīdasa* (inscriptions of Gīrnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kāšm. *truvāh*, Uṛ. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindi *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ī.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ī* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < **kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

āya > ā.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *paleti*.

āya > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naīn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

r = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Mag. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindi *rāū*, *rāv*, Simh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rāj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxi *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x^aaraiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μapri-χόπα*, Phl. *x^aarānō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xārtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^aaram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *x^aaral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x^aarin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindi *pūjna*, Sindhi *pujāṇu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Mahār. Prāk., Pali *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$.

§ 352. The change of r to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pali *purin-dada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$.

§ 353. The change of r to n is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxi *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$.

§ 354. The change of r to l is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian r is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prakrit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prakrit of the inscriptions of Dhāuli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasaram, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāi*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pali *rattī*, Uṛ., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carāṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. also *carāṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pali *carāṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pali *hāliḍḍa*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pali *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindi *lējurī*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālisa*,

caḷisa, Pali *cattāḷisa*, *cattāṛisa*, Kāśm. *ṣatajīh*, Ur. *caḷisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *caḷis*, Hindi *cāḷis*, Panj. *cālī*, Sindhi *cāḷih*, Guj., Mar. *caḷis*, Sinh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṣ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanō*, Pāz. *rēšed*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētman*, Vön. *rētan*, Wāxi *varicam*, Sarq. *varaisam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rišay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lčjun*, Tag. *ličin*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārah*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāś. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sulāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vön. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *malfig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > \text{ḷ}$

§ 355. The change of *r* to *ḷ* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pali *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgālā(a)*, *iṅgōḷ*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pali *cattāḷisa*, *cattāṛisa*, Panj. *cālī*, Sinh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pali *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. (*h*)*aḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of *r*.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pali *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Siv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāś. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāś. *ba*, Vön. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *mā(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *mōr*, *māar*, Tal. *mā*, Šiyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindi *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāšitan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *aḫē dahāk*, New Pers. *aḫdahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aḫdarha*, *aḫdaha*.

l = l.

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpaṭ*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindi *lip*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhi *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *amalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *amalaā*, Pāli *amalaka*, Uṛ. *amala*, Bang. *aōla*, *āulā*, Hindi *amvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhi *amviro*, Mar. *amvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaṭ*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāl*, Hindi *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhi *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhi *pīpiru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt. *lov*, Wāxi *lav*, *lafc*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxi *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. *λείχω*, Lith. *lēsiù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *yar*, Afy. *yāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

l > ḍ.

§ 359. The change of *l* to *ḍ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalūṭa*, *raraṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tāḍ*, *tār*.

l > n.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uriya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṃgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṃgala*, *laṃgala*, Pāli *naṃgala*, Bihārī *laṃgal*, Mar. *naṃgar*, Siṃh. *nagulo*. *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *raraṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindi *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhi *lūnu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭṭ*, Hindi *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhālī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

l > r.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *ya-mala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindi *pīpar*, Sindhi *pīpiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāmvar*, Hindi *sāmvala*, W. Hindi *sāmvrāṭ*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhi *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapē*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rāvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \text{ḷ}$

§ 362. The change of l to ḷ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kāla*, Uṛ. *kalā*, Bang., Hindi *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhi *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kalu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Uṛ., Panj. *thal*, Sindhi *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Uṛ. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindi *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhi *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

Syncope of l .

§ 363. The syncope of an original l is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiñculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiñculaē*, Bihārī *kēmcuvā*, *kēmcvā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

$v = v$.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian v remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāti*, Hindi, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vimchia*, *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Uṛ. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindi *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhi *bichūm*, *vimchū*, Guj. *vimchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *vimcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *paūn*, Panj. *paūṇ*, Guj. *pōṇ*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prak. *naūim*, Pali *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbaī*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindi, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhi *navē*, Guj. *nēvum*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaṇhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāś. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāś., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāś., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *līv*, Šiyn. *dīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > ũ$.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ũ* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prak. *paūṇa*, Hindi *paūn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paūṇ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prak., Pali *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vainahy*, Phl. *vēnat*, New Pers. *binad*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vinam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afy. *vinam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāś. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yayn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

$v > k$.

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

v > *g*.

§ 367. The change of *v* to *g* occurs regularly before *u* in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vitārēta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanō*, New Pers. *gudaštan*, Gab. *vadarta*, Vön. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *bandarnādan*, Kurd. *buhārtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Phl. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yayn. *aurak*, Afy. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *biray*. Av. *varētata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gaštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *yīrsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəsyeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxi *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaʃ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vr* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

v > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 368. The change of *v* to *gh*, *γ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varētata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *yīrsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > *gv*.

§ 369. The change of *v* to *gv* is regular initially before *a*-vowels in Balūči.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvās*.

v > *n*.

§ 370. The change of *v* to *n* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninanabē* (assimilation).

v > *ph*, *f*.

§ 371. The change of *v* to *ph*, *f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

v > b.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *svr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vār*, *vād*, Uṛ. *bēdhā*, *bhēḍa*, Bang. *bēḍa*, Hindi, Panj. *bēdhā*, Sindhi *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēr̥hā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāst*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḷ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindi *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Kāš. *vid*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vata* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *rai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *barāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxi *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaḷ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravaḥ* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsroḅ*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

v > bh.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, Ur., Bang., *bhāp*, Hindi *bhāph*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *veṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Ur. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > m.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jām*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tām*, *tāmahim*, Pali *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāśravāṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamāṇa*. Skt. *vijñaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindi *mintī*, Hindi *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhi *mintī*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pali *nara*, Kaśm. *nāu(m)*, Ur. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindi *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *naūm*, Sindhi *namvam*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sinh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəs* 'do,' New Pers. *parvās* 'plough,' Bux. *parmās*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxi *volc*, Afy. *maras*, *nvaras*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > y.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payatṭati*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pali *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhi *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Afy. *kōyal*, *kōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pali *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pali *divasa*, Sindhi *ḍivhu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṃśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvīsa*, Pali *tēvīsa(ti)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhi *ṭrēvili*, Guj. *trēviś*, Mar. *tēvis*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvatiṭṭha*, Pali *upaviṭṭha*, Hindi, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēś*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *kāv*, Sarq. *kao*, Sangl. Minj. *yao*, Yāyn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *yog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Siv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaṣ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvara* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bira*.

Prothesis of *v*.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccat*, Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pali *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pali *ruttha*, *rusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *azəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afy. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxi *hāṣ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *vort*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yāyn. *urs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ῥόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *hašik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of *v*.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chahā*, *chayā*, Pali *chāyā*, Ur. *chahina*, Hindi *chām̐v*, *chām̐(h)*, *chāṁ*, Panj. *cā(u)m*, Sindhi *chām̐v*, *chām̐*, Guj. *cāmy*.

āvā > a.

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *āvā* to *a* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prak. *pabhavat*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prak. *sambhavat*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyat*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxi *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ā.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ā* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōn*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhi *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > ē.

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Siñh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nūh*, Kāś. *muhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yāyn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > ō.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,

Sindhi *lānu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (b)*hōdi*, (b)*huvadi*, (b)*havadi*, Mag. Prāk. (b)*havaṭ*, *hucāṭ*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāś. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhi *hūa*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jaina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōr*, Tag. Oss. *noog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhi *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhi *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yangj*, Yāyn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > ē.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍā)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *savarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(ih)*, New Pers. *sōr*.

āvay > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āvay* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

āvi > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārāh*, Afy. *xkāra*.

ivā > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōṣi*, *paḍōṣi*, *parōṣi*.

ivē > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōṣai*.

īva > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivahy*, Phl. *stvas-tanō*, New Pers. *sistan*, Kurd. *sin*, *xiin*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(ih)*, New Pers. *dibtr*.

ēvā > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *ḍīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *ḍīn*.

uva > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yvān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardi*.

uva > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *bāk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durūd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Magadhi, Ardhamagadhi, Avantika, and Śākari alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindi and Sindhi indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāś. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kāśm. *hat*, Uṛ. *śaz*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindi, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *ṣel*. Skt. *śiṛsa* 'head,' Prāk. *śisa*, *śissa*, Pāli *śisa*, Hindi, Panj. *śis*, Sindhi *śist*, Guj. *śiś*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Simh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśiti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asti*, Pāli *aśiti*, Ass. *ṣit*, Kāśm. *śith*, Uṛ. *aśi*, Bang. *aśi*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *asī*, Sindhi *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmsī*. Skt. *dēśiya* 'native,' Pāli *dēśiya*, Uṛ. Bang. *dēśi(ya)*, Hindi, Panj. *dēśi*, Sindhi *ḍēśi*, *ḍēhāi*, Guj., Mar. *dēśi*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śavaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Uṛ. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindi *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhi *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śeṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Uṛ. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of *ś* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hak* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of *ś* to *y* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḍasavasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of *ś* to *v* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Sinh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of *ś* (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of *ś* to *s* is the regular one to which Indian *ś* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhat*, Pāiā. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śuśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāiā. Prāk., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *astī*, Pāli *astī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhi *asī*, Guj. *enst*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Uṛ. *śilā*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *siḷ*, Sindhi *sir*, Mar. *siḷ*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of *ś* to *h* is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

K

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pali *dasa*, Kāśm. *dah*, Uṛ. *daś*, *das*, Hindi *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhi *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deš*. Skt. *śraśura* 'father-in-law,' Pali *sasura*, Uṛ. *Bang.*, Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj. *Mar.* *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saṣtrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindi (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kīśari* 'lion,' Prāk., Pali *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēhari*, *kēsari*, Hindi *kēhari*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhi *kēhari*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pali *pāsa*, Hindi *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhi *phāhi*, *phāsi*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Elu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian ś occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pali *siṅga*, Hindi *siṅg*, Mar. *śiṅg*, Elu *samgu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(n)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śiśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pali *sisira*, Sinh. *ūl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pali *lasuna*, Sinh. *lūnu*.

$$\text{ś} = \text{ś}.$$

§ 403. The retention of Indian ś is found only in Kāśmīrī, Uṛiya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pali *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Kāśm. *ṣurāh*. Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōrahan*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōla*, Sinh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Uṛ. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

$$\text{ś} > \text{kh}.$$

§ 404. In Hindi and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian ś is pronounced *kh*, even if ś be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pali *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhas, *bhakka*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhakha*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pali *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhi *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pali *cha*, Kāśm. *ṣah*, *ṣih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhi *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(a)*, Old Sinh. *caka*, Sinh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣatpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jaina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pali *karisa*, Sinh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvṛṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *anṇṛṣanti*. Skt. *alabhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisanti* Dhauli, *ālabbhiyisanti* Jaugada, *ālabbhiyisanti* Khālsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pali *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlāh*, Sindhi *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōḷā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sam̐r*, Panj. *sām̐ḍh*, Sindhi *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindi *puriṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

§ > h.

§ 409. The change of § to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *egahatṭhi*, *egasatṭhi*, *egayatṭhi*, *egavatṭhi*, *egatṭhi*, Kāśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhi *ekahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhi *vihu*.

s = s.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian *s* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian *s* normally becomes *h*. Iranian *s*, arising from Indo-Germanic *k̂* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindi *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *siha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pāli *siha*, Hindi, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhi *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindi *kapās*, Panj., Sindhi *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣi* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēṣi*, Bang. *tiṣi*, E. Hindi *tīṣi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarak* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarōta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vön. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ōts*, *lis*, Sarq. *ōēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yāyn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πιδύας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aj)*.

s > ch.

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pali *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pali *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *simcat*, Pali *siñcati*, Bihārī *chimcāi*, *simcāi*, Mar. *simcaṇēṇ*.

s > j(h).

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hamsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pali *hamsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhi *hamj(h)u*, Sinh. *has*.

s > t.

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saxʷārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. *ἀπ. λεγ. θάταιρι*, Yt. x, 14).

s > th, θ.

§ 414. The change of *s* to *th, θ*, occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *surra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Osa. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' Av. *θάταιρι*, etc. (? see preceding §).

s > d.

§ 415. The change of *s* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pali *sahassa*, Kāśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*, Sinh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (*d* for *s* by false analogy with Sinh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

$s > v$.

§ 416. The change of s to v is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dav*, etc. (see § 410).

$s > ś$.

§ 417. The change of s to $ś$ is very rare. In East Hindi $ś$ is often written for s , although s is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of s to $ś$ is regular in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śākārī Prākṛit, and the Avantikā Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśe*, Māhār. Prāk., Pali *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anuśāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśaśaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇuśaṇa*, Pali *anusāsana*.

$s > ṣ$.

§ 418. The change of s to $ṣ$, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of $ṣ$ from s after $ī$, $ū$, $ṛ$, $ḛ$, $ō$, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsī). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyāsi*.

$s > ś$.

§ 419. The change of Iranian s to $ś$ is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *aṣān*, dialectic *šan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, Kurd. *šūšin*, *sužin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*.

$s > z$

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūrya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt. *urnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt. *pas*, Wāxi *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^oasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxi *xurs*, Afy. *szar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xasūr*, *xasīr*, *xaur*.

$s > h$

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakat*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Sinhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāsm. *akasatath*, Ur. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekāttar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jaina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hattāva*, *sāttāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīai*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Sinh. *imḍinavā*, *himḍinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^hasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xasūr*, *xasīr*, etc. (see § 420).

š = ś.

§ 423. Iranian š remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *cian*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl. New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nay. *guš*, Wāxi *γuš*, *γiš*, Šiyn., *γuš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *račkah* 'wound,' Phl. New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

š > c, č.

§ 424. The change of š to c, č, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxi *cauam*, Kurd. *cian*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

š > j.

§ 425. The change of š to j is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bačšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

š > l.

§ 426. The change of š to l is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

š > s.

§ 427. The change of š to s is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šiv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *šik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxi *šāš*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaš*, Oss. *axsas*.

š > ṣ̌.

§ 429. The change of š to ṣ̌ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *yūš*, Afy. *γvaš*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *virç*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukušim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ah)*, Citrali *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxi *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarša*, Afy. *šira*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rixī*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

z = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānuk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxi *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ašnōh*. Av. *zərdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *sarda*. Av. *maēzanti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēstānō*, New Pers. *mēst-*

dan, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīṣay*, *mēṣay*, Kurd. *mīstīn*, *mīstīn*, Dig. Oss. *mēṣun*, Tag. *mīsin*. New Pers. *pōs* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūs*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)s*, N. Bal. *phōñs*, Kurd. *pōs*, *pūs*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*.

s > *j*.

§ 433. The change of *s* to *j* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sanwa* 'chin,' New Pers. *sanax*, Šiyn. *siŋu*, Sarq. *sangān*, Afy. *jana*, *sana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *sōē* (from $\sqrt{\text{zan}}$ 'to be born').

s > *s*.

§ 434. The change of *s* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

s, *š* > *š*.

§ 435. The change of *s*, *š* to *š* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāšah*, *kāšah*.

s > *š*.

§ 436. The change of *s* to *š* is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *šimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

s > *h*.

§ 437. The change of *s* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of s.

§ 438. The loss of internal *s* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} = \text{š}.$

§ 439. Iranian š is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōšax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōšak*, *dōšē*, N. Bal. *dōšax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dušē*. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Phl. *šušak*, New Pers. *šušah*, Gab. *jujīk*.

$\text{š} > \gamma.$

§ 440. The change of š to γ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Afy. *dōyaš*, *dōšax*, *dōšax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} > j.$

§ 441. The change of š to j is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujīk*, etc. (see § 439).

$\text{š} > \text{š}.$

§ 442. The change of š to š is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of š to š occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for š , and employs the character for š instead).

$\text{š} > z.$

§ 443. The change of š to z is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian š is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōšax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōšak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōšax*, *dōšē*, etc. (see § 439).

$h = h.$

§ 444. Indian h is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian h (corresponding to Indian s) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Simh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiām*, Sindhi *himamu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārg̃ha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahanigā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahanigō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mahanigā*, Panj. *mahinigā*, Sindhi *mahanigō*, Guj. *mōmghuh*, Mar. *mahag*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhi *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl. Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxi *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šiyn. *vurd*, Sarq. *tūd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāś. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

$h > k$.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Simh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(th)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Siv. *fušk*, Kāś. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxi *vask*, Yidg. *ušk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxi *xūg*, Sarq. *xang*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hūk*, N. Bal. *hix*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yayn. *itk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōzax*, *dōyax*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*.

$h > c$

§ 447. The change of h to c is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Siv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$

§ 448. The change of h to ph, f , is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Siv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$

§ 449. The change of h to bh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk., Pali *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$

§ 450. The change of h to v is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *vūvd*, (*h*)ub, *hūb*, Šiyn. *vuvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxi *task*, Afy. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$

§ 451. The vocalization of h to y, i , occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxi *mūi*, Šiyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afy. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$

§ 452. The change of h to s is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pali *snēsika* (but Pali *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$

§ 453. The change of h to $š$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namās*, Afy. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimiš*, *nimī*.

$h > z, \dot{z}$.

§ 454. The change of h to z, \dot{z} , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāz*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimīz*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of h.

§ 455. The loss of initial h is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kāśm. *ath*, Sinh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hūb*, *rūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaṣn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāś. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ūšk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ*-, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*.

Syncope of h.

§ 456. The loss of internal h is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *buhaspadi*, Uṛ. *biphai* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphai*, *bihaphai*. Skt. *gēhīṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *gharīṇī*, Sinh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vr̥thi* 'rice,' Pālī *vr̥thi*, Sinh. *vr̥*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Siv. *fīn*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šīyn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *ōura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāś. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīš*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h.

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prak. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prak. *dāni(m)*. Skt. *edṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prak. *erisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prak. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḷā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prak., Pāli *oṭṭha*, Ur. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṭ*, lit. Phl. *hērpāṭ*, *īrpāṭ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h.

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Ur. *mahana*, Hindi *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ḡa*, Afy. *ḡai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ḡih*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281–282 (cf. 359–360), into the ‘strong, weak, and mixed nexus’ is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

kt > k(k).

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k(k)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pali *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pali *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

kt > gđ, γđ.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gđ, γđ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxi *nayd*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thayd*.

ktz > γz, sz.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, sz*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suyzarina*, Tag. *sizyarin*.

kt > t(t).

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pali *bhatta*, Kāśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindi, W. Hindi *bhat*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pali *mutta*, U_r. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pali *ratta*, U_r., Bang. *rakta*, Hindi *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtānō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtān*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paravul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtānō* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtān*, Māg. *sūt*, Gīl. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, *svaḡavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

kt > pht, ft.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht, ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūstān* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtān*.

kt > ht.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtānō* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > lkh, lx.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh, lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > hr.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxdra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > (t)th.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to *(t)th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pali *sittha*, Hindi *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēt*, Mar. *stt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pali *sattihi*.

kn > nn.

§ 470. The assimilation of *kn* to *nn* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaī*, Pālī *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

km > m(m).

§ 471. The assimilation of *km* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmaṇi* 'sort of metre,' Pālī *rummaṇi*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitah-mak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

km > gm, γm.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group *km* to *gm*, *γm*, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

km > p(p).

§ 473. The assimilation of *km* to *p(p)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmini* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *rappiṇi*.

ky > k(k).

§ 474. The assimilation of *ky* to *k(k)* occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pālī *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkyā* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokkā*.

kr > k(k).

§ 475. The assimilation of *kr* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pali *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caka*, Bang. *cāka*, E. Hindi, Hindi *caḥ*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ajñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

kr > *r(r)*.

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Siv. *sir*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sār*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šiyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sūr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

kr > *hr*.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cār*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

kl > *l(l)*.

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pali *kiliṭṭha*, Sinh. *leḍa*.

kv > *k(k)*.

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāsm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakka*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

kṣ > *k(k)*.

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pali *bubhukkhati*, Hindi

bhukh, Sindhi *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *su*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Simh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxi *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afy. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kāsm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(m)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhi *makhi*, Guj. *mākhi*, Mar. *maklū*, *maṣī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhīṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhīṇa*, Kāsm. *dachan*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Bang. *dān*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhi *ḍakhiṇō*, Mar. *ḍakhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kāsm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhi*, Bihārī *pāmkh* 'wing,' *pāhim* 'beside,' *pāmchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhi*, *pāmchī*, Panj. *pāmchī*, Sindhi *paṃgu*, Guj. *pāmchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pāmchī*, Simh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yayn. *xīšap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *arsav*.

kṣ > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *axsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$kṣ > c(c)$.

§ 484. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $c(c)$ is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudata*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$.

§ 485. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $(c)ch$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikhha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindī *ričh*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *riś*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)si*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(n)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khūt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetrī*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$.

§ 486. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $j, (j)jh$, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīṇa*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhin*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhinō*, Gyp. *klinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjai*, Mar. *jhiḍ*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$.

§ 487. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *akhu*, Bang. *aku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *riś*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)si*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khana*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindi *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Sinh. *sāna*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sāndā*.

kṣ > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šīn. *šab*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *h(h)*.

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *pamchī* 'bird,' *pamkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Hindi *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. *alu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

kṣn > *ṇ, n*.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṇ, n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šīn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

kʂn > *ʂn*.

§ 493. The assimilation of *kʂn* to *ʂn* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʂna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōʂnaga*, Sangl. *rōʂnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kʂn > *hn*.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kʂn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʂna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > *t(t)*.

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prak., Pali *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxi *dōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afy. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūcin*.

gdh > *d(d)*.

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

gdh > *ddh*.

§ 497. The assimilation of *gdh* to *ddh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prak., Pali *duddha*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prak., Pali *muddha*.

gn > *g(g)*, *γ*.

§ 498. The assimilation of *gn* to *g(g)*, *γ*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindi *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṃgālā*, Bang. *nēṇiṭā*, Bihārī *naṃg*, Hindi, Panj. *naṃgā*, Sindhi *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṃgā*, Gyp. *naṃgō* (cf. also Kāśm. *naṃrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > n(n).

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > m(m).

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgemaṭ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymaṭ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

gy > g(g).

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṭ*, Pāli *laggaṭi*, Kāśm. $\sqrt{\text{lāg}}$, Hindi *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhi *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > g(g).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Uṛ. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *āgē*, Panj. *aggā*, Sindhi *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (g)gh.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Simh. *vag*.

ghr > r(r).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

ṛk > ṛg.

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryāṇka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallanika*, Śāur. Prāk. *pālianika*, Pāli *pallanika*, *pariyāṇka*, Ass. *pālenṛg*, Nāip. *palaṇṛg*, Uṛ. *palaṇik*, Bang. *pālāṇṛg*, *pālāṇik*, Bihārī *palaṇṛg*, *pālākī*, Hindi *palaṇṛg*, Panj. *palaṇṛgh*, Sindhi *palaṇṛgu*, Guj., Mar. *palaṇṛg*, Anglo-Ind. *palaṇquin*. Skt. *kāṇkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṇkaṇa*, Ass. *kaṇgan*, *kāṇkan*, Kāśm. *kaṇkāin*, *kaṇṇum*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāṇgan*, E. Hindi *kaṇgan*, *kaṇkan*, *kāṇkan*, Hindi *kaṇgan*, *kaṇkan*, Panj. *kaṇgan*, Sindhi *kaṇganu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṇgan*.

ṛkt > mt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ṛkt* to *mt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṅkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pali *paṇṭi*, Bihārī *paṇṭi*.

ṛkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ṛkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pali *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikri*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *st(m)-kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindi *sikar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhi *saṅgharū*, Guj. *sāṅghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikri*.

ṛkh > ṛgh, ṁgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ṛkh* to *ṛgh*, *ṁgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhi *saṅgharū*, Guj. *sāṅghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṛg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ṛg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṅgala*, *ṇaṅgala*, Pali *naṅgala*, Bang. *nāṅgal*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Siṁh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lāṅgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṅgūla*, Siṁh. *nagal*, *nakuṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingart*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ṛg > ṛgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ṛg* to *ṛgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhi *jhaṅgu* < **jaṅghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṅgal*, Old Hindi also *jaṅgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

cch > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prcchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchiṭṭha*.

cy > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accutu*. Skt. *cyavate* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavai*, Pāli *cavati*, Ur. *cuiḃā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindi *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhi *cuḥaṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēṇi*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccai*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > *c(c)*, *č(c)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(c)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *crant* 'how many?' Phil., New Pers. *cand*, Waxi *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Ur., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindi *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindi *jāg*, Panj. *jagy*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhi, Gujarāṭi, and Marāṭhi, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarāṭi *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhi *jñ* is pronounced *ḍny*. Sindhi usually assimilates *jñ* to *ji*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ṇāna*, Pāli. Prāk. *ñāna*, Pāli *jāna*, Ur., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *g'ānō*), Hindi,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*. Skt. *ājña* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇa*, Pali *añṇā*, Hindi *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhi *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

jñ > j(j).

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pali *jāṇa*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *sarvajja*, *sarvañṇu*, Śaur. Prāk. *sarvañja*, Māhar. Prāk. *sarvannu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*.

jñ > ñ(ñ).

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, Pali *viññāna*.

jñ > ṇ(n).

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(n)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindi *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

jñ > n(n).

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhar. Prāk. *sarvannu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pali *ñāti*, Simh. *nā*.

jy > j(j).

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pali *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvidan*, Gab.

jovādmūn, Afy. *ḡovul*, *ḡōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jān* (cf. Old Bulg. *ḡivati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (j)jh.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to *(j)jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)yā*.

jy > s(s), ṣ(ṣ).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to *s(s)*, or *ṣ(ṣ)*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *ḡovul*, *ḡōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *sih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ṣa*, Afy. *ṣai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ṣih*.

jv > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Uṛ. *jvalibā*, Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālāṇā*, Sindhi *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jalavum*, Mar. *jalaṇēm*, Sinh. *dala*.

jv > (j)jh.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to *(j)jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaṭ*, Pāli *jalati*, Uṛ. *jhalakanā*, Sindhi *jhalakaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

jv > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *bālāṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhi *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhi *ḡar*.

ñc > *ɲg*.

§ 528. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ɲg* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxi *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

ñc > *c(c)*.

§ 529. The assimilation of *ñc* to *c(c)* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prak. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañčah*, Ur. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindi *pacās*, Panj., Sindhi *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*.

ñc > *j(j)*.

§ 530. The assimilation of *ñc* to *j(j)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumjī*, Kāsm. *kuñz*, Ur. *kuji*, *kumcī*, *kumjhī*, Bang. *kājī*, *kumjī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kumjī*, Guj. *kumcī*, Mar. *kumjī*.

ñc > *ñj*.

§ 531. The softening of *ñc* to *ñj* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumjī*, Bang. *kū(m)jī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Mar. *kumjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

ñc > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 532. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ñ(ñ)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

ñc > *ɳ(ɳ)*.

§ 533. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ɳ(ɳ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prak. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *pañṇāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$.

§ 534. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$.

§ 535. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāncana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcana*, Pali *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pali *pañca*, Kāśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhi *pām̐j*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Sinh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$.

§ 536. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Sinh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̐d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\hat{n}j$ to $m̐d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjana*, Pali *añjana*, Sinh. *am̐duna*.

$\acute{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pali *khagga*, Ur. *kham̐dā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindi *kharag*, *khām̐d*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārūm̐*, Mar. *khām̐d*.

$\acute{d}g > \acute{d}(\acute{d})$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $\acute{d}(\acute{d})$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Ur. *kham̐dā*, Hindi *khām̐d*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūm̐*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhi *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$nt > t(t)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of nt to $t(t)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prak. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmṭi*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Uṛ. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kaṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindi *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$nt > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of nt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$.

§ 543. The softening of nt to nd occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$nt'h > nt$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of $nt'h$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kāśm. *śōṇṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindi *sōmṭh*, Panj. *sunḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *sunḍhi*, Guj. *sunṭh*.

$nt'h > ndh$.

§ 545. The softening of $nt'h$ to ndh is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *sunḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *sunḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nd > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of nd to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kāśm. *khaḍak*, Uṛ. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khamḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *deḍḍubha*.

■

$\eta\dot{d} > n\dot{d}$.

§ 547. The decerebralization of $\eta\dot{d}$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rām̐r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

$\eta\dot{d} > n(n)$.

§ 548. The assimilation of $\eta\dot{d}$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṇḍā*.

$\eta\dot{d}h > \dot{d}(\dot{d})$.

§ 549. The assimilation of $\eta\dot{d}h$ to $\dot{d}(\dot{d})$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sāmḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍha*, Guj., Mar. *sāmḍ*.

$\eta\dot{d}h > n(n)$.

§ 550. The assimilation of $\eta\dot{d}h$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta\dot{d}h > m̐r$.

§ 551. The assimilation of $\eta\dot{d}h$ to *m̐r* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̐r*, etc. (see § 549).

$\eta\dot{d}h > m̐h$.

§ 552. The assimilation of $\eta\dot{d}h$ to *m̐h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$\eta y > \hat{n}j$.

§ 553. The assimilation of ηy to $\hat{n}j$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmanya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vamhaṇja*.

$\eta y > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 554. The assimilation of ηy to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pali *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhi *puṇi*. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pali *araṇṇa*, Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *raṇ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$\eta y > n(\eta)$.

§ 555. The assimilation of ηy to $n(\eta)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pali *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta y > n(n)$.

§ 556. The assimilation of ηy to $n(n)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *rinu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khalsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇna*, Pali *hiraṇṇa*.

$\eta v > n(\eta)$.

§ 557. The assimilation of ηv to $n(\eta)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pali *kiṇṇa*, Sindhi *kinu*.

$\eta v > n(n)$.

§ 558. The assimilation of ηv to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhi *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta t > t(\eta)$.

§ 559. The cerebralization of ηt to $t(\eta)$ is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥tta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vaṭṭa*, Pali *vaṭṭa*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pali *mattikā*, Ur., Bang. *māṭṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *miṭṭi*, *maṭṭi*, Sindhi *miṭṭi*, Guj. *māṭṭi*, Mar. *māṭṭi*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭaṇa*, Pali *paṭṭana*.

tp > *p(p)*.

§ 560. The assimilation of *tp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppaḥjantē*, Pāli *uppaḥjanti*, cf. Sindhi *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

tm > *t(t)*.

§ 561. The assimilation of *tm* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kāśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindi, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

tm > *pt*.

§ 562. The assimilation of *tm* to *pt* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

tm > *p(p)*.

§ 563. The assimilation of *tm* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kāśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindi, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

ty > *c(c)*.

§ 564. The assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *sañcā*, (pron. *homsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāmcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindi *sāmc*, Hindi *sāmc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacā*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Sinh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhi *hacā*.

ty > *t̥(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t̥(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit̥(t)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prāk. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Sinh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *fīrth*, Tag. *fīrth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *t̥(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *t̥(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śaur. Prāk. *puḍ(d)a*, Pāli *putta*, Uṛ. *pua*, Hindi *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *puṭī*, Sinh. *piṭ*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīni*, Kāsm. *trih*, Uṛ. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tīni*, Hindi *tīn*, Panj. *tiṁn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *suṭṭu*, Sinh. *suta*.

tr > (f)ʃh.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (f)ʃh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindi, Hindi *pahilam̐thā*, Panj. *pahilōṭhā*, Sindhi *pahrōṭhō*, *pahrāṭu*.

tr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śaur. Prak. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > t(t).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to t(t) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pali *ratti*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rāya*, *rū*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)raci. Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prak. *chetta*, Pali *khetta*, Uṛ., Bang. *khēta*, Hindi *khet*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khet*, Sindhi *kheṭu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Sinh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pali *timaṇḍala*, Old Sinh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Sinh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prak., Pali *putta*, Hindi *put*, Mar. *putī*, Sinh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > dr.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to dr is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Waxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > phr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to phr, fr, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > r(r).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to r(r) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

pūr, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citṛē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yāyn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *miθrdāz*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāṛ*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhi *miō*.

tv > t(t).

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvārita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turīa*, Pāli *turita*, Hindi, Panj. *turamt*, Sindhi *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindi, Panj. *cār*, Sindhi *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *si(u)*, New Sinh. *hātara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < **tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

tv > d(d).

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > p(p).

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *buḍhāpaṇā*, *buḍhāpā*, Hindi *buḍhāpan*, Panj. *buḍhāpā*, Sindhi *buḍhāpaṇu*, Guj. *buḍhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cīr*, Yayn. *tfo*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > ph, f.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yayn. *tfo*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *b(b)*.

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxi *čabur*, *čabur*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *l(l)*.

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afy. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *v(v)*.

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *sp*.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

tv > *h(h)*.

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapitwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapih*, *farpih*, New Pers. *farbih*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

ts > *c(c)*.

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bibhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bibhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsu*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, W. Hindi *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhi *ḍacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pali *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > ś(ś).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to ś(ś) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jaina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pali *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pali *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindi *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhi *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pali *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māśā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > *(c)ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pali *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *maṭhyam*, Sinh. *misa*.

thy > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pali *mugga*, Uṛ. *māga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *muṅg*, Sindhī *muṇu*, Mar. *māg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pali *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṇirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṭ*, *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhi *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavun*, Mar. *ugavinēṇ*.

dgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindi *sudh*, Sindhi *suṭhō*.

ddh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saḍḍhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *cuḍḍhi*, Pāli *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišīdman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinaḍmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > j(j).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhi *vijum*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vij*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kāśm.

aj, *as*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindi *āju*, E. Hindi, Hindi *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhi *ajū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Sinh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

dy > *d(d)*.

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Sinh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vaidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Sinh. *veda*.

dr > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhi *nimḍ*, Mar. *nij*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindi *dād*, Sindhi *ḍarhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dadar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhi *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > *d(d)*.

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nij*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kāsm. *dach*, Hindi, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhi *ḍakh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *l(l)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadda*, Pāli *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, Ur. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindi, Panj. *bhālā*, Sindhi, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhar. Prāk., Pali *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Sinh. *hila*.

dr > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xsudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baḍra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pali *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pali *dvāra*, Ur. *daru*, Sindhi *daru*, *dāri*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pali *dvi*, Kāśm. *zah*, Ur., Bang. *dui*, Hindi, Panj. *dō*, Sindhi *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *diva*, Pali *dīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāś. *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Wāxi *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afy. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

dv > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pali *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, Ur. *bāra*, Bang. *bārū*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, Panj. *bārān*, Sindhi *bārahan*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kaš. *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Wāxi *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḡbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > *v(v)*.

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaṭ*. [See now Fischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afy. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (*j*) *jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (*j*) *jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pali *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māṣ*), Kaśm. *maṁs*, Ur. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhe*, Hindī *mājhi*, *mānjh*, *māmh*, *mānjhōlā*, Panj. *mānjh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *maṁjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *mūda*, inscriptions *māmda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pali *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Hindī *ojhā*, Sindhi *vājho*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhat*, Pali *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Ur. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhi *ḡujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pali *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > *d(d)*.

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burh-vānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *mā(m)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pali *viijhati*, Sinh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxi *malung*, Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mīa*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

dhy > (d)dh.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (d)dh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maīdya* 'middle,' Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhy > y(y).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to y(y) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maīdya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > l(l).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to l(l) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maīdya* 'middle,' Wāxi *malung*, Afy. *mīa*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > s(z).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to s(z) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *mās* (written *māj*), Kāśm. *manz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kāśm. *būzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindi *mānh*, *māmjh(olā)*, *māmjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grāhṛa* 'vulture,' Prak. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindi *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gijhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gidhaḍ*.

dhr > *d(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grāhṛa* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhr > *(d)dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *grāhṛa* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gīdh*, Hindi *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhw > *(j)jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhw* to *(j)jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Sinh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvalū* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

dhw > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhw* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sinh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhw > *(d)dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhw* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

nt > *t(t)*.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtā*, Nāip. *-ada*, Kāśm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindi *-at*, Old Hindi *-ant*,

Hindī -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*it*.

nt > (t)h.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to (t)h is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *barəsant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

nt > d(d).

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > nd.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śaur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *zīvandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *zvand*.

nt > n(n).

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to n(n) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṇṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇṭr* is confined to the Sindhi (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

ntr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇḍr* also is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*.

ntr > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhi *gaṇḍhi*, *ghuṇḍi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, Sinh. *gāṭaya*.

nth > *mṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Ur. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gānt*, *gāmth*, Hindi *gāmṭh*, Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṇḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāmṭh*, Sinh. *gata*.

nth > *mḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *mḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhi *gaṇḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *pañtha*, Pali *pantha*, Kāśm. *pāimth*, *pānth*, *pānth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *camda*, Pali *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cānd*, also Kāśm. *čandar*, E. Hindi *cān*, Hindi, Panj. *camd*, Sindhi *camḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *camda*, Pali *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cānd*, also Hindi, Panj. *camd*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndr > n(n)$.

§ 650. The assimilation of ndr to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindi *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

$ndh > t(t)$.

§ 651. The assimilation of ndh to $t(t)$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣṭanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxi *vandam*, Šiyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

$ndh > (f)th$.

§ 652. The assimilation of ndh to $(f)th$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndh > d(d)$.

§ 653. The assimilation of ndh to $d(d)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gil. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > nd$.

§ 654. The deaspirization of ndh is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak., Pali *khandha*, Ass. *kāmd*, *kāmdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāmdh*, Bihārī *kāmdhā*, *kāmdā*, Hindi *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhi *kandhu*, Guj. *kāmdō*, Mar. *kāmdā*, Simh. *kanda*.

$ndh > n(n)$.

§ 655. The assimilation of ndh to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > (n)nh$.

§ 656. The assimilation of ndh to $(n)nh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prak., Pali *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāsm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *simdh*, E. Hindi *sēnhi*, *sēndh*, Hindi *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēmdhi*, Multāni

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pali *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindi *amdhērā*, *amdlāyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

ndhy > *ñj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhya* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pali *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāñjh*, Bang. *sāñj*, *sāñjh*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāñjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhi *sāñjhī*, *sañjhā*, Guj. *sāñj*, Mar. *sāñj*, *sāñjh*.

ndhy > *ñ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhya* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pali *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāñjh*, Bang. *sāñjh*, *sāñj*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāñjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhi *sañjhā*, *sāñjhī*, Mar. *sāñjh*, *sāñj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pali *vañjha*, Ass. *bāñji*, Uṛ. *bāñjha*, Bang. *bāñjhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāñjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāñjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pali *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pali *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmury*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pali *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhi *kañā*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Mag. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pais. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pali *kañña*, Sindhi *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pali *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, Sinh. *amk(ak)*, *amkek*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śanya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pali *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhi *suñā*, Guj. *śun*, *suñn*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jaina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pali *maññē*). Skt. *śanya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *suñn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *naxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvेषाṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēṣaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭhi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasatṭhi*, Kāśm. *satahāiṭh*, Ur. *satṣaṭhi*, Bang. *sātṣaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasatḥ*, *sarasatḥi*, *satasatḥi*, Hindi *sarsatḥ*, *satsatḥ*, Panj. *satahaṭ*, Sindhi *sathaṭhi*, Guj. *saḍṣeṭh*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

pt > t(t).

§ 666. The assimilation of *pt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pali *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pali *sutta*, Sindhi *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^*ap}$ 'to sleep,' Phl. *x^aastanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vön. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxi *rūxpam*, Šiyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gil. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

pt > d(d).

§ 667. The assimilation of *pt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afy. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afy. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

pt > (d)dh.

§ 668. The assimilation of *pt* to *(d)dh* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxi *hūb*, (*h*)ub, Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uð*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

pt > pht, ft.

§ 669. The spirantization of *pt* to *ft* occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

pt > phth, fth.

§ 670. The double spirantization of *pt* to *phth*, *fth*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

pt > *b(b)*.

§ 671. The assimilation of *pt* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' WaxI *hub*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *r(r)*.

§ 672. The assimilation of *pt* to *r(r)* is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasat̥hi*, *sar̥asat̥h*, *satasat̥hi*, Hindi *sarsat̥h*, *satsat̥h*, etc. (see § 665).

pt > *v(v)*.

§ 673. The assimilation of *pt* to *v(v)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yāyn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *vd*.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group *pt* to *vd* is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Yidg. *arduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

pn > *pp*.

§ 675. The assimilation of *pn* to *pp* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrapna* 'sleep,' Pali *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāṇat̥*, *pāvat̥*, Pali *pappōti*, *pāpunāti*, Ur. *pā*, Bang. *pāḍ*, Old Hindi *pāu*, Hindi *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāu*, Sindhi *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*.

pn > *f(f)*.

§ 676. The assimilation of *pn* to *f(f)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

pn > *m(m)*.

§ 677. The assimilation of *pn* to *m(m)* is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*, etc. (see § 675).

pn̥y > *m(m)*.

§ 678. The assimilation of *pn̥y* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafr̥ya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

py > *p(p)*.

§ 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppati*, Pāli *kuppati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyate* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

pr > *p(p)*.

§ 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Uṛ. *paṭhāṭā*, Bang. *pāṭhan*, Hindi *paṭhānā*, Sindhi *paṭhamu*, Guj. *pāṭhavum*, Mar. *pāṭavīṇm*.

pr > *r(r)*.

§ 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmīr dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hiḷ*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vön. *barāš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šaraškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *rasai*.

pr > *hl*.

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

pš > š(š).

§ 683. The assimilation of *pš* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl. New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxi *spūn*, *šūpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

ps > (c)ch.

§ 684. The assimilation of *ps* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindi *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchatī*.

ps > bš.

§ 685. The softening of *ps* to *bš* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *grabš*, *gvamš*.

ps > mš.

§ 686. The assimilation of *ps* to *mš* is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvamš*, *grabš*, etc. (see preceding §).

ps > vs.

§ 687. The assimilation of *ps* to *vs* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiyn., Sarq. *arsār*.

ps > s(s).

§ 688. The assimilation of *ps* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *xʷafstānō*, New Pers. *xuspidān*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

pstr > str.

§ 689. The assimilation of *pstr* to *str* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

fs > *ps*.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

bj > *j(j)*.

§ 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j(j)* is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prak., Pali *khujja*, Kāsm. *kobb*, Uṛ. *kūja*, Bang. *ku(m)ja*, *kubja*, Hindi *kubja*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhi *kuḷō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*.

bj > *bḍ*.

§ 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindi *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

bj > *b(b)*.

§ 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kāsm. *kobb*, Hindi *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhi *kuḷō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*, etc. (see § 691).

bḍ > *d(d)*.

§ 694. The assimilation of *bḍ* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prak., Pali *sadda*, Old Hindi *sād*.

bḍh > *(d)dh*.

§ 695. The assimilation of *bḍh* to *(d)dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prak., Pali *laddha*, Sindhi *ladhō*.

br > *b(b)*.

§ 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

bhy > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pali *abbhantara*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindi *bhitār*, Guj. *bhitār*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhat*, Pali *labbhati*, Old Hindi *labbh*, Sindhi *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāmīr*, Sindhi *bhāmīru*, Mar. *bhōmīr*, Sinh. *bambarā*.

bhr > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāa*, Pali *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāt*, also Panj. *bhrāu*, Sindhi *bhāu*, Mar. *bhāu*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāmīr*, Sindhi *bhāmīru*, Mar. *bhōmīr*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > vr.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to vr is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhat(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxi *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurđ*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṣ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *aura* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judæo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaṣ*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hāvr*. Oss. *arv*.

mn > *mm*.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

mp > *p(p)*.

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Sinh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *campayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Sinh. *sapu*.

mp > *mb*.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampat*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaniṣ*, Kāśm. *kam(p)*, Uṛ. *kamṣ*, Bang. *kāṁṣ*, Hindi *kāṁṣ*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kaniṣ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

mb > *b(b)*.

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kamālā*, Bang. *kambal*, *kamili*, E. Hindi *kanmar*, Hindi *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhi *kamari*, Guj. *kābālō*, *kāmāl*, *kamālī*, Mar. *kāmbalā*.

mb > *m(m)*.

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pali *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhi *jāmūn*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kamala*, E. Hindi *kammar*, Hindi *kammal*, *kambal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kambal*, Sindhi *kumari*, Guj. *kamal*, *kamālī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pali *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindi *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambās* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīs*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumblāra*, Pali *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhi *kumhāru*, Guj., Mar. *kumhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pali *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbuni*, Mar. *tāmbēn*, Sinh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pali

amba, Ur., Bang., Hindi *ām*, *amb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhi *ambu*,
Larī *āmō*, *āmā*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sinh. *amba*.

$mr > mbr > m(m)$.

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Ur., Bang. *ām*, *amb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$mv > m(m)$.

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

$m̐h > m̐gh$.

§ 712. The assimilation of *m̐h* to *m̐gh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prak. *sīha*, Mahār. Prak. *siṃgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *siṃha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *sīṃgh*, *siṃgh*, *sīmh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Ind. dialects *sīmh* (pron. and often written *siṃgh*).

$rk > k(k)$.

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prak., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāmkar*, Bang. *kāmkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Ur., Bang. *kāmkarā*, E. Hindi *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindi *kāmkarā*, Sindhi *kāmkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' Ur., Bang. *kā(m)kuḍī*, Hindi, Panj. *kā(k)kaḍī*, Sindhi *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sakhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

rk > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 714. The assimilation of *rk* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sakhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

rk > *t(t)*.

§ 715. The change of *rk* to *t(t)* is extremely rare (cf. § 119 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kutta*, *kukka*, Sindhī *kuṭṭō*, Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*.

rk > *tr*.

§ 716. The change of *rk* to *tr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rg > *g(g)*.

§ 717. The assimilation of *rg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prak., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prak. *maggaṭ*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *maṃg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṃg*, Panj. *maṃg*, Sindhī *maṇ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

rgr > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 718. The assimilation of *rgr* to (*g*)*gh* is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prak. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

rgḥ > *g(g)*.

§ 719. The assimilation of *rgḥ* to *g(g)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgḥa* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṃgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṃgā*, Panj. *mahiṃgā*, Sindhī *mahaṃgō*, Guj. *mōṃghum*, Mar. *mahāg*, Malādiva *agu*.

rg̥h > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 720. The assimilation of *rg̥h* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghr̥ṇa* 'pitiless,' Prak. *nigghina*. Skt. *arg̥ha* 'sacrifice,' Pali *aggha*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prak. *diggha*, *ḍiḥa*, Pali *ḍiḥa*, Sindhi *ḍriḥlō*.

rg̥h > *h*(*h*).

§ 721. The assimilation of *rg̥h* to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prak. *ḍiḥa*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j*(*j*).

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prak. *gajjida*, Pali *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pali *gajjana*, Hindi *gajāna*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhi *gajānu*, Guj. *gājavuṃ*, Mar. *gājanēm*.

rj > *rz*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rz* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ašā*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afy. *yarz*.

rj > *ʒ*(*ʒ*).

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *ʒ*(*ʒ*) is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Kāš. *ašā*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prak., Pali *nijjhara*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 726. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pali *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaiṇ*, *sōnēṇ*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rn > n(n)$.

§ 727. The assimilation of rn to $n(n)$ is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karṇa* 'ear,' Pali *kaṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhi *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khalsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(n)ni*, Pali *tambapaṇṇī* (Gr. *Ταμροβάμν*). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaiṇ*, *sōnēṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pali *uṇṇa*, Hindi *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhi, Guj. *un*.

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 728. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pali *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *ēūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindi *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindi, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pali *puṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhi *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$.

§ 729. The aspirization of rt to rth is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxi *sūr(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(f)$.

§ 730. The assimilation of rt to $t(f)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *naṭṭai*, Pali

naṭṭakā, New Ind. dialects *naṭi*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pali *vaṭṭakā*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhi *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prak. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindi *gaḍ*, *gaḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhi *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravum*, Mar. *gāraṇem*.

rt > t(t).

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prak., Pali *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pali *āvattā*, *āvattā*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prak. *vattiā*, Pali *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartari* 'scissors,' Prak. *kattari*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindi, Panj. *katarani*, Sindhi *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cəd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kir*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > rd.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kir*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Waxi *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardag*, Kurd. *vardi*.

rt > r(r).

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Waxi *sūr(r)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > l(l).

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *pəl*, *par*, *pīrd*, *purd*.

rt > ld.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > hl.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > t(f).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(f)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *caumthā*.

rth > (f)h.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)h* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (f)th.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāutha*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, Uṛ., Bang. *chūr*, Old Hindi *chamd*, E. Hindi, Hindi *chāmṛ*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāmṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gadduha*, Pāli *gadṛabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍāhu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > *(ḍ)dh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to *(ḍ)dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d(d)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṇḍdaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, Uṛ. *cānda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindi *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍaham*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gad-daha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *(d)dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to *(d)dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r(r)*.

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāuri*, *kaurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

rd > *l(l)*.

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivardā* 'bull,' Prāk. *bailla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kāśm. *baḍ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *baḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saḍḍha*, Kāśm. *sādu*, Uṛ. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhi *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Sinh. *aḍa*.

rdh > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *barḥai*, Panj. *baḍḍhi*, Sindhi, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥai*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saḍḍha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindi, Hindi *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhi *sāḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rdh > (d)dh$.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to $(d)dh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

$rdhv > (d)dh$.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to $(d)dh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pali *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rdhv > (b)bh$.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to $(b)bh$ is frequent in the Indian dialects ($rdhv > ddhv > ddhb > dlb > bbh$).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pali *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rn > n(n)$.

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to $n(n)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāna*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

$rn > n(n)$.

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to $n(n)$ is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šīyn. *rūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yayn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 756. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxi *ḍor*, Sarq. *ḍar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxi, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *x^əarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *vīda]farnah*, Phl. *farn[bag*, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$.

§ 757. The assimilation of rn to $l(l)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$.

§ 758. The assimilation of rp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prak., Pali *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindi *sānp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhi *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prak., Pali *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kāpūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$.

§ 759. The assimilation of rb to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pali *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prak., Pali *dubbala*, Bang. *ḍublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *ḍubar*, Hindi *ḍublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhi *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubāl*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 760. The assimilation of rbh to $(b)bh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prak., Pali *gabbha*, Hindi *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhi *gābhu*, *garabhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

$rm > m(m)$.

§ 761. The assimilation of rm to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *cam*, Sindhi *camu*, Simh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kam*, Sindhi *kamu*, Simh. *kama*.

$rm > r(r)$.

§ 762. The assimilation of rm to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carəman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmin*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma*, New Pers., Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *yarma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *yar*, *yarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

$ry > j(j)$.

§ 763. The assimilation of ry to $j(j)$ is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindi, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhi *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

$ry > r(r)$.

§ 764. The assimilation of ry to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turi*, Bang. *turum*, Hindi *tūri*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhi, Guj. *turi*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sārju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Simh. (h)iru.

b. Iranian. Av. *cīrya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

$ry > rj$.

§ 765. The change of ry to rj is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhi *kārju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *pyaryāṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliāmka*, Pāli *pallamka*, New Ind. *palamg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *pyāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindi *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhi *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

rv > *p(p)*.

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappeti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḷ*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > *b(b)*.

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḷ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindi, E. Hindi *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > *rbh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *parab*, Sindhi *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

$rv > r(r)$.

§ 771. The assimilation of rv to $r(r)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

$rv > v(v)$.

§ 772. The assimilation of rv to $v(v)$ is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768).
Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > śs$.

§ 773. The change of $rś$ to $śs$ is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daśana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhi *darsanu*.

$rś > s(s)$.

§ 774. The assimilation of $rś$ to $s(s)$ is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindi, Panj. *phaṁsanā*, Sindhi *phasanu*, Guj. *phasavum*, Mar. *phasanēn*.

$rśv > s(s)$.

§ 775. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $s(s)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindi *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhi, Guj. *pāse*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *paš*.

$rśv > h(h)$.

§ 776. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s} > (d)\dot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $(d)\dot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Uṛ. *kāṛhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindi *kāṛhnā*, Panj. *kārhanā*, Sindhi *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhāravum*, Mar. *kārhaṇēn*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prak. *maggasīru*, Uṛ. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhi *manḡhīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rs$.

§ 779. The change of $r\dot{s}$ to rs is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afy. *vraš*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barsa*, Tag. *bars*.

$r\dot{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prak. *sissa*, *sisā*, Pāli *sisa*, Hindi, Panj. *sis*, Sindhi *sist*, Guj. *śīś*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}, r\dot{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s}), \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}, r\dot{s}$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s}), \dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prak. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanə*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišan*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sisa*, li *sīsa*. Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*. etc. (see § 780).

$rṣ > h(h)$.

§ 783. The assimilation of $rṣ$ to $h(h)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kālāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindi *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Malādiva *vehentī*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of $rśn$ to kh, x , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(ī)*, Šīyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$rśn > n(n)$.

§ 785. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $n(n)$ is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$.

§ 786. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rs is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurz*.

$rśn > rʂ$.

§ 788. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $rʂ$ is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 789. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}n$.

§ 790. The reduction of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}n$ is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šīyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tašai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}v > \dot{s}v$.

§ 792. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}v$ to $\dot{s}v$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$.

§ 793. The transposition of rs to hl is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parasu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rz to $l(\dot{l})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *baraziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bališ*, Gab. *bališt*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišť*.

$rh > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of rh to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$rh > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 796. The assimilation of rh to $l(\dot{l})$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

lk > k(k).

§ 797. The assimilation of *lk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindi *luka*, Sindhi *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhi *bakaru*.

lg > g(g).

§ 798. The assimilation of *lg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

lp > p(p).

§ 799. The assimilation of *lp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

lm > mb.

§ 800. The assimilation of *lm* to *mb* is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jaina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbalī*, Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

lm > m(m).

§ 801. The assimilation of *lm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

lm > mv.

§ 802. The change of *lm* to *mv* is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prak., Pali *kalla*, Asa., Uṛ., Bang. *kālī*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāl*, *kāl̥h*, Panj. *kall*, *kall̥h*, Sindhi *kāl̥h*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindi, Hindi *kāl̥h*, *kāl̥*, Panj. *kall̥h*, *kall*, Sindhi *kāl̥h*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mālyā* 'price,' Prak. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāsm. *mōl*, Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindi *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lv > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pali *pabbaja*.

lv > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pali *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khālvaṭa* 'bald,' Prak. *khallīḍa*, Pali *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *stvyati* 'sews,' Pali *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindi *bitnā*, Panj. *bitīṭāṇā*, Guj. *vaṭavum*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindi *bāchnā*, Panj. *ban̄chuanā*, Sindhi *virchanu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prak. *vaggha*, Pali *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

vy > *v(v)*.

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v(v)* occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

vr > *v(v)*.

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v(v)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśi* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvraśi*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pali *vīhi*, Sinh. *vī*.

śc > *c(c)*.

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pali *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindi, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhi *acaraj*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *piṣē*, *pāṣē*), Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *piṣē*), Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pichū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

śc > *(c)ch*.

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *viñcua*, *vicchua*, *viñchua*, Pali *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Ur., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindi *biccu*, Hindi *bichua*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhi *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *viñchū*, Mar. *viñcū*, *viñchūm*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pichū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

śc > *s(s)*.

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *piṣē*, *pāṣē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāṣā*, *piṣē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścatvāriṃśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tālīsā*, Kaśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālis*, Hindi *tālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāimtālīs*, Sindhi *ṭētālīh*.

śm > m(m).

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pali *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāna*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāna*, Jaina Prāk. *siyāna*, *susāna*, Pali *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāna*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindi *masān*, Panj. *masān*, Sindhi *masānu*, Guj. *masān*, Mar. *masān*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jaina Prāk. *siyāna*, *susāna*, Pali *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pali *rasmi*, *raṃsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasi*), Kaśm. *raz*, Uṛ., Bang. *rasi*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhi *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > ṃj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṃj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pali *assu*, Kaśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āmsā*, Uṛ. *āṃjhā*, *āmsū*, Bihārī, Hindi *āmsū*, Panj. *āṃjhu*, Sindhi *haṃj*, Guj. *āṃju*, Mar. *āmsū*, *āsū*.

śr > ṃjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṃjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Uṛ. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś(ś)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(ś)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Uṛ. *ṣuṇibā*, Bang. *ṣunan*, Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *ṣuṇanā*, Sindhi *ṣuṇanu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Uṛ. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *māmsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *māch*. Skt. *āśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, Uṛ. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindi *āmsū*, Mar. *āmsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *ṣuṇanā*, Sindhi *ṣuṇanu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

śv > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhi *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Uṛ. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsa*, Mar. *sāsa*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prak., Pali *sāsa*, Sindhi *sāhu*.

ṣk > k(k).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prak. *dukkāḍa*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pali *dukkata*, *dukkāḍa*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prak. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pali *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Ur., Bang. *śuka*, Hindi *sukhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhi *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *suka*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pali *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindi *nikalana*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsanā*, *nikkālāṇā*, Sindhi *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāt-ṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsarum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēn*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (k)kh.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prak. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pali *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindi *sukhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prak., Pali *pokkhara*, Ur. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindi, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣṭ > ṭ(t).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pali *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śaiṭh*, *śeṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiḥ*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Sinh. *sāṭa*.

ṣṭ > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prak. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prak. *jaṭṭhi*, Pali *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindi *lāṭhi*, *lāṭ(i)*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *lāṭhi*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāt*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭāu* 'eight,' Prak.,

Pali *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, Uṛ. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindi *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śaṭṭh*, *śeṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāṭṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pali *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindi, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *verḥā*, Sindhi *vaḍehō*, *verḥā*, Mar. *veḍhā*. Skt. *leṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prak. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindi, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *verḥā*, Sindhi *verḥā*, *vaḍehō*, Mar. *veḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindi, Panj. *ruḍh*.

ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭ.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prak. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(r)ūmṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhi *uṭhu*.

ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhi *marāṭhi*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭṭha*, Uṛ. *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Bang. *dār(ṛ)*, Hindi *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Panj. *dāḥaḍ(ṛ)*, Sindhi *ḍāṭṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *dāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

ṣṭr > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍha*, Ur., Hindi *daḍh(ī)*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *ḍahār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣṭr > ḷḷ.

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to ḷḷ is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *daḷa*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭr > h(h).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to h(h) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhaḍ(ī)*, Guj. *ḍahār*, *dāḍhi*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭh > t(t).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to t(t) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pali *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koff*, *koṭṭh*.

ṣṭh > (t)ṭh.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (t)ṭh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prak. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Pali *piṭṭha*, Ass., Ur. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *piṭ*, Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *piṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *puṣṭo*. Skt. *gōṣṭhi* 'assembly,' Prak. *goṭṭhi*, Pali *goṭṭha*, Sindhi *gōṭhu*, Mar. *goṭṭhi*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prak. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pali *oṭṭha*, Kaśm. *vuṭh*, Ur. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣṭ*.

ṣṭh > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to ḍ(ḍ) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kudha*, Bang. *kuḍi*, Sindhi *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛ*, *kōṛh*, *kōhōṛ*.

ṣṭh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrh*, *kōr*, *kōhōr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(ṇ)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak., Pali *uṇha* (but Pali *situnnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *situnhaka*), Sindhi *uṇ*, Guj. *unhum*, Mar. *unha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 840. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prak., Pali *kaṇha*, Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhi *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $n(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pali *situnnaka*, *situnhaka*, Mar. *unha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhi *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 842. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhum*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pali *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhi *ṭh*, Mar. *tahān*.

sp > p(p).

§ 844. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pali *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pali *puppaha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindi *puhup*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phāl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhi *nipuṭrō*.

sp > (p)ph.

§ 845. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pali *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

sp > h(h).

§ 846. The assimilation of *sp* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

sm > (b)bh.

§ 847. The assimilation of *sm* to *(b)bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindi *ubh*, Mar. *umhaḷ*. Skt. *gr̥iṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pali *gimha*, Old Hindi *garīsam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gīm*.

sm > m(m).

§ 848. The assimilation of *sm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gimbh*, etc.
(see preceding §).

ṣm > *mh*.

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pāli *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhaḷ*, etc. (see § 847).

ṣy > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *śisa*, Pāli *sissa*, Sindhi *sikhu*.

ṣy > *ṣṣ*.

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Uṛ. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindi *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*.

ṣy > *s(s)*.

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsaṭ*, Pāli *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindi *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣy > *h(h)*.

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pāli *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

sk > *k(k)*.

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prak., Pali *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak. *khand(h)a*, Pali *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kamdha*, Sindhi, Guj. *kāmdhō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Eļu *kāmda*, Maladive *koḍu*.

sk > (k)kh.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (k)kh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak. *khand(h)a*, Pali *khandha*, Mar. *khāmdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > c(c).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to c(c) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaŋ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

sc > š(š).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to š(š) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaŋ* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > šk.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to šk is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

sc > s(s).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to s(s) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaŋ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (k)kh.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khambha*, *thambha*, Pali *thambha*, Uṛ. *kambh(a)*, *kam(ba)*, Bang. *kambā*, Hindi, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhi *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *kambh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭamba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > ṭ(f).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to ṭ(f) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > t(f).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to t(f) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stānya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēniya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pali *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pali *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kāsm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Uṛ., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (f)th.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (f)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pali *pōthaka*, Kāsm. *pūth*, Uṛ. *pōthā*, Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pali *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kāsm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pali *patthara*, Uṛ. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindi, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhi *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pali *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *than*, Panj. *than*, Sindhi *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

st > s(s).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to s(s) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

sty > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pali *ṭhina*, *thina*.

sth > (k)*kh*.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāṇu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khāṇu*, *khāṇṇu*, 'firm,' *thāṇu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 809.]

sth > *ṭ(f)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(f)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pali *aṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍṭi*, Panj. *hāḍṭi*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *āṭa*.

sth > *(ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāṇa*, Pali *ṭhāṇa*, Naip. *thāṇi*, Ur. *ṭhāṇā*, *thāṇā*, Bang. *thāṇā*, *thāṇ*, Hindi *ṭhannā*, *thāṇā*, Panj. *ṭhūṇ*, *thāṇā*, Sindhi *ṭhāṇu*, *thāṇu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Sinh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍṭi*, Panj. *hāḍṭi*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t(t)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pali *thira*, Ur. *thira*, Hindi *ṭhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthāṭi* 'kettle,' Pali *thāṭi*, Ur., Panj. *thāṭi*, Guj. *thāṭ*, Mar. *thāṭa*, Sinh. *tāli*, Maladive *teḷi*.

sth > (t)th.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūči.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāna*, *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thari*, Uṛ. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thānā*, Hindi *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhān*, Sindhi *thānu*, *ṭhānu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahaṭṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindi *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhi *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > ś(ṣ).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(ṣ) is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > ṇh.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to ṇh is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṭṭnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

sn > n(n).

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to n(n) occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhi *nīmhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoða* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōd*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nēōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

sn > nh.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nlāunā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > p(p).

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, Pali *vanappati*. Skt. *sparsa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pali *phassa*, Ass. *√pas*, Bang. *sparsa* (pron. *pōrsō*), Hindi, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəsa* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspūl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *sūpūl*, Kurd. *pišik*.

sp > (p)ph.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparsa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pali *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phāmdana*, Pali *phandana*, Hindi *phāmdanā*, Panj. *phāmdanā*, Mar. *phāmdanēm*.

sp > s(s).

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaapphaī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl. New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istîr*, *histir*.

sp > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospenta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spē*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spīn*, Kurd. (i) *spī*.

sp > *sḡ*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sḡ* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sph > (k) *kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (k) *kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

sph > (p) *ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (p) *ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *mḡ*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mḡ* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amḡi*, Pāli *amḡi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimḡaa*, Pāli *vimḡaya*, Sindhī *visāḡ*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 885. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhi *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindi, Panj. *surat*, Sindhi *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *sarat*, *sumarat*, Pali *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 828).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *isma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hasang*.

sm > *zm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *zm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Gab. *isma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *šm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *šm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ašmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṁśya*, *kaṁśa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁśia*, Pali *kaṁśa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *kāṁśā*, Panj. *kāṁśi*, Sindhi *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsum*, Mar. *kāṁsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).

sy > *s(s)*.

§ 891. The assimilation of *sy* to *s(s)* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindi *sāl*, Panj. *salā*, Sindhi *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *salā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šūi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > *ś(š)*.

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to *ś(š)* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šūi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > *(k)kh*.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to *(k)kh* is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ūšū*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *(h)istir*, *asr*.

sr > *s(s)*.

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, *(h)oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x'āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > *ś(š)*.

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to *ś(š)* is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afy. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afy. *x^oāša*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Simh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sū*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Simh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > Iranian *x^o*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x^o*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^oafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *x^oaf^hanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*, Siv. *fatan*, Tal. *asp*, Waxi *xōfsam*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > Iranian *x^o*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x^o*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *x^oar*, New Pers. *xur*. Šiyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x^oaraiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x^oar^hanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Siv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tal. *bahardēn*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^oaram*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*. Afy. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sax^oārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > Iranian *x^o*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x^o*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 329 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > (p)ph, f.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (p)ph, f, through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 971 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Siv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *xʷa/sa'a* 'sleep!' Siv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > v(v).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to v(v), through Iranian *xʷ*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *xʷaš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. *xʷaš*, New Pers. *xūš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *uš*, *xōš*, Šiyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > s(s).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to s(s) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmi*, *suṇāmi*, Uṛ., Bang. *śāmi*, Hindi, Panj. *sāmī*, Sindhi *sāmī*, Sinh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindi *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhi *sagō*, Guj. *saguṇ*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svārāja* 'mimicry,' Hindi, Panj. *sāmg*, Sindhi *sāngu*, Guj., Mar. *sōmg*.

sv > h(h), and *sv* > Iranian *xʷ*, *hv* > h(h).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to h(h) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Sinh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *xʷaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷai*, *xʷēdē*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Waxi *xil*, Sarq. *xaiḏ*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsaata* 'sleep!' Tal. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > c(c).

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > s(s).

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > shk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *shk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > š(š).

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gil. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šīn. *paš*, Afy. *pišō*, Bal. *pūši*, *piši*, Kurd. *pīšik*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šīn. *pašc*, Afy. *paca*.

št > kht, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

št > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 914. The change of *št* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, WaxI *haθ*, *hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > *t(t)*.

§ 915. The assimilation of *št* to *t(t)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' WaxI *hāt*, *haθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afy. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afy. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *(t)th*.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' WaxI *hāθ*, *hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

št > *l(l)*.

§ 917. The assimilation of *št* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' WaxI *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *s(s)*.

§ 918. The assimilation of *št* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *šk*.

§ 919. The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

šty > *št*.

§ 920. The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

$\text{śn} > \text{khn}, \text{xn}$.

§ 921. The change of śn to khn, xn , is very rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāšnah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afy. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūmsig*, *pīms*, N. Bal. *phiz*, *phid*, Kurd. *pānī*.

$\text{śn} > \text{d(d)}, \text{nd}$.

§ 922. The change of śn to $\text{d(d)}, \text{nd}$, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afy. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phid*, *phiz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{śn} > \text{n(n)}$.

§ 923. The assimilation of śn to n(n) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

$\text{śn} > \text{s(s)}, \text{ns}$.

§ 924. The assimilation of śn to $\text{s(s)}, \text{ns}$, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūmsig*, *pīms*, N. Bal. *phiz*, *phid*, etc. (see § 921).

$\text{śm} > \text{n(m)}$.

§ 925. The assimilation of śm to n(m) is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš, Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

$\text{śm} > \text{v(v)}$.

§ 926. The assimilation of śm to v(v) is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

šm > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *šm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākəm* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smar*, Tag. *sumax*.

šm > *š(š)*.

§ 928. The assimilation of *šm* to *š(š)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

šm > *šm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *šm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōšm*, etc. (see § 925).

šy > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 930. The assimilation of *šy* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *cian*, Oss. *čaun*.

šy > *š(š)*.

§ 931. The assimilation of *šy* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāt(īh)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

šy > *š(š)*.

§ 932. The softening of *šy* to *š(š)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

zg > *zg*.

§ 933. The change of *zg* to *zg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *maṣga* 'marrow,' Phl. *maṣg*, New Pers. *maγs*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māγsa*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *maγs*.

sd > *s(s)*.

§ 934. The assimilation of *sd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṣda* 'near,' Phl. *naṣdīk*, New Pers. *naṣ-d(i)h*, Sarq. *nīzd*, Afy. *nīzdē*, *nīdē*, Bal. *naṣīk*, N. Bal. *naṣī(x)*, Kurd. *nīzūk*, *nēzīk*.

sr > *dr*.

§ 935. The change of *sr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ṣrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *ṣrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *ṣarāh*, *ṣirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *ṣirā*.

sv > *zm*.

§ 936. The change of *sv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hiṣva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uṣvān*, *ṣvān*, New Pers. *ṣabān*, *ṣubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *ṣik*, Šīyn. *ṣav*, Sarq. *ṣiv*, Afy. *ṣība*, Bal. *ṣimān*, Kurd. *aṣmān*, Oss. *awṣag*.

zb > *ṣb*.

§ 937. The change of *zb* to *ṣb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hiṣva* 'tongue,' Afy. *ṣība*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣd > *s(s)*.

§ 938. The assimilation of *ṣd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duṣdah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *duṣd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

ṣd > *sd*.

§ 939. The change of *ṣd* to *sd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *dušd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

$hn > nh$.

§ 940. The metathesis of hn to nh is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vañhi*, Sindhi *bāhi*.

$hn > n(n)$.

§ 941. The assimilation of hn to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciñha*, *cindha*, Naip. *cimnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindi *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhi *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *cimha*.

$hn > ndh$.

§ 942. The change of hn to ndh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciñha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hn > h(h)$.

§ 943. The assimilation of hn to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhi *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

$hm > m(m)$.

§ 944. The assimilation of hm to $m(m)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhana*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bamahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

$hm > mb$.

§ 945. The change of hm to mb is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sinh. *bamiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

hm > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhi *ḥambhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

hy > *(j)jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjha*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *(b)bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbha*, *jīha*, Pāli *jivha*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jibh*, excepting Sindhi *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dā*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindi *bihabāl*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Sinh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīha*, *jibbha*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindi *bihabāl*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *æo*, Malādiva *dū*, etc.
(see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *a* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *siṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. *siṃgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāms*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṃkhala*, Ass. *sikuli*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *śīnikar*, *śīkar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *śīkar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṃghar*, Sindhī *saṃgharō*, Guj. *saṃghal*, Mar. *sāṃkhal*, *sākhal*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuṇḍikā* 'key,' Kāśm. *kuṇḍ*, Ur. *kuṇḍ*, *kuṇḍhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṃjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kūṃjī*, Sindhī *kūṃjī*, Guj. *kuṇḍ*, Mar. *kūṃjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṃr*, Bang. *ṣāṃr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṃr*, Panj. *sāṃḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṃh*, *saṇḍha*, Guj., Mar. *sāṃḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *kāṃdā*, Hindī *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kaṃnh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *kāṃdō*, Mar. *khāṃdā*, Simh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kampat, *kampat*, Pali *kampati*, Ass. *kamp*, Kaśm. *kam(p)*, Hindi *kāmp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dānim*, *dāni*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahiṇ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *dahi*, Panj. *dahim*, Sindhi *ḍahim*, Guj., Mar. *dahim*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *h* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindi *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antahkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindi *antahkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindi *niḥśvās* (pron. *nisvās*), *nisvās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pali *lahuka*, Uṛ., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindi *haluk*, Hindi *halakā*, Sindhi *halkō*, Guj. *halakum*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pali *kaṣaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pali *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadaha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *kṣepaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Uṛ. *phimḡibā*, *pa-kāibā*, Hindi, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhi *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vṛudati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buddaṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindi *būḍ*, Sindhi *buḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Uṛ., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbanā*, Sindhi *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubanū*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihāt*, Kāśm. *prāv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍala* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bīlār*, Guj. *bīlāḍī*. Skt. *saṃudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *saṃudda*, *saṃudra*, Pāli *saṃudda*, Siṃh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇcūra*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṃh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṃh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *puṇimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *surr*, New Pers. *surr*, Šir. *sīrah*, Siv. *sīr*, Yazdi *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *sūhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surr*, Tag. *sirr*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *rafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tānag*, N. Bal. *thunt*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baṛr*, *baṛl*, New Pers. *baṛt*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (h)istir. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlešť*, *lvlišť*. Skt. *liḥṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *srur*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srunbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *sarr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxi *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *ancra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pali *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavat*, Bihārī, Hindi *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍināvē*, Sindhi *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nāk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *ānīnak* (read *ālvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pali *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkika* 'leech,' Pali *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pali *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pali *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādīvi* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvi*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaṭula*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvala*, Sindhi *dēvīlī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādasā* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pali *dvādasā*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bah*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, W. Hindi *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhi *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *sīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sīḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pali *sīthila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhīl, Naip. *ḍhīlō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīllā*, Sindhi *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhīrō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlūm*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhaḷ*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *visat*, Pali *visati*, *visa*, Kāśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindi *bis*, Panj., Sindhi *viḥ*, Guj., Mar. *vis*. Skt. *anurāpa* 'parable,' Prak. *anurāva*, Pali *anurāpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *st*, Afy. *dērš*. Av. *antaro* 'within,' Old Pers. *qtar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitiyām karam* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṭīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *ḍīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thi(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hisu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)isāva*, Phl. *(h)usvān*, *suwān*, *savān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *subān*, Gab. *isvān*, Waxī *sik*, Šīyn. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *šiba*, Kurd. *asmān*, Tag. Oss. *awsag*. Av. *angūšta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angūšt*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingart*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows :

$\tilde{a} + \tilde{a} > \tilde{a}$; $a + \tilde{i} > \tilde{a}i$; $a + \tilde{u} > \tilde{a}u$; $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i} > \tilde{i}$; $i + a > \tilde{e}$; $\tilde{u} + \tilde{u} > \tilde{u}$;

u + a > ō, but *a + ī*, *ā + ū*, *ā + a*, *ū + ī*, and *ē* or *ō* + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pali *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhi *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahini*, *bhaiṇi*, Pali *bhagini*, Uṛ. *bhaṇi*, *bhaiṇi*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhaiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bheṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, *bhaiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtṭha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *caumthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindi *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pali *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindi *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *nhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāi*. Skt. *nikāṣa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāḍa*, Pali *nikāṣa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pali *diguṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḍaṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suamḍha*, Pali *sugandha*, Hindi, Panj. *sāuṇḍhā*. Skt., Pali *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindi *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhi *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvum*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pali *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *kōil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Naip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hūm*, *gēmhūm*, *ghēūm*, Panj. *ghēūm*, Sindhi *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dašn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(ih)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *asēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *siv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *viē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּתְבָּרָא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

Epenthesis of vowels.

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjabi and Sindhi, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk. Pālī *khagga*, Ur. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāmḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pālī *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhi *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pālī *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (h)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāś. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pālī *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāunā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pālī *silsuma*, *sēnha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pālī (ag)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pālī *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhi *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radana*, Pālī, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratana*, Sindhi *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Sinh. *ruvan*. Skt. *māyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milai*, Pālī *milāyati*,

Hindi *milnā*, Sindhi *milāṇu*. Skt. *klēṣa* 'trouble,' Hindi *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kaḷēs*, Sindhi *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *stṛī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pali *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istṛī*, Uṛ. *tīrī*, vulgar Uṛ. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindi *istṛī*, *astṛī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhi *tīriyā*, *istṛī*, Elu *itīrī*, Simh. *istṛī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxi *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxi *trui*, Šiyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *bīrvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burt*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darā*, *durā*, Tāl. *dā*, Sarq. *durā*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṭ-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156-175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99-121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59-64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21-25) and possibly in the Pāmīr dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307-308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmīr group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

I. SUBJECT-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

Anaptyxis of *ā* 23, *u* 55.

Anunāsika 953.

Anusvāra 953.

Aphaeresis of *a* 11, *ā* 21, *i* 31, *u* 51, *ē* 93, *k* 127, *s* 422, *h* 455, *ks* 491, *sr* 899, *sv* 907.

Apocope of *a* 13, *ā* 22, *i* 33, *i* 42, *u* 53, *ē* 94, *k* 129, *y* 338, *ś* 402, *ṣ* 431, *h* 457, *gn* 500.

Assimilation of syllables 956.

Consonants, single 113-459.

Consonants, single: *k* 114-130, *kh*, *x* 131-139, *g* 140-147, *gh*, *γ* 148-153, *ṅ* 154, *c* 155-171, *ch* 172-177, *j* 178-187, *jh* 188-190, *ñ* 154, *ṭ* 191-198, *ṭh* 199-207, *ḍ* 208-213, *ḍh* 214-217, *ṇ* 218-219, *t* 220-236, *th*, *ṭ* 237-245, *d* 246-263, *dh*, *ḍ* 264-274, *n* 275-286, *p* 287-294, *ph*, *f* 295-302, *b* 303-310, *bh*, *w* 311-318, *m* 319-329, *y* 330-348, *r* 349-357, *l* 358-363, *v* 364-394, *ś* 395-402, *ṣ* 403-409, *s* 410-422, *ṣ* 423-431, *ś* 432-438, *ṣ* 439-443, *h* 444-459.

Consonant-groups 460-952.

Consonant-groups, single, beginning with *k* 461-494, *g* 495-503, *gh*, *γ* 504-505, *ṅ* 506-511, *c* 512-514, *j* 515-527, *ñ* 528-537, *ḍ* 538-540, *ṇ* 541-558, *t* 559-597, *th*, *ṭ* 598-599, *d* 600-618, *dh*, *ḍ* 619-

631, *n* 632-664, *p* 665-689, *ph*, *f* 690, *b* 691-696, *bh*, *w* 697-700, *m* 701-712, *r* 713-796, *l* 797-806, *v* 807-809, *ś* 810-821, *ṣ* 822-853, *s* 854-907, *ṣ* 908-932, *ś* 933-937, *ṣ* 938-939, *h* 940-952.

Contraction 969.

Dissimilation of syllables 957.

Epenthesis of vowels 960, *k* 130, *t* 236, *d* 263, *n* 286, *f* 302, *b* 310, *m* 329, *m* 329, *r* 357, *v* 378, *h* 459.

Final syllables 961.

Loss of syllables 958.

Metathesis 955.

Prothesis of *a* 14, *i* 34, *u* 54, *kh* 139, *n* 285, *y* 340, *v* 377, *h* 458.

Sandhi 962.

Syncope of *a* 12, *i* 32, *u* 52, *k* 128, *g* 147, *gh* 153, *c* 171, *j* 187, *t* 235, *d* 262, *dh* 274, *n* 284, *p* 294, *ph* 301, *b* 309, *m* 328, *y* 339, *r* 356, *l* 363, *v* 376, *ś* 402, *s* 422, *ś* 438, *h* 456, *gn* 500, *tr* 580, *tv* 590, *śc* 813, *hm* 952.

Visarga 954.

Vowels 1-112.

Vowels, single: *a* 2-14, *ā* 15-23, *i* 24-34, *ī* 35-42, *u* 43-55, *ū* 56-65, *ṛ* 66-82, *ṝ* 83, *ḷ* 84, *ē* 85-94, *ai* 95-98, *ō* 99-107, *au* 108-112.

II. REVERSE-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

a = *a* 2, < *ā* 16, *i* 25, *ī* 36, *u* 44,
ū 57, *r* 68, *ē* 86, *ō* 101.

ar < *r* 67.

al < *r* 80.

ā < *a* 5, = *ā* 15, < *i* 26, *ī* 39,
u 46, *ū* 60, *r* 76, *ē* 88, *aya* 341,
āya 346, *āvā* 379, *āvi* 388, *uva*
393.

i < *a* 3, *ā* 17, = *i* 24, < *ī* 37,
u 45, *ū* 58, *r* 71, *ē* 87, *ō* 102,
t 221, *d* 247, *iya* 345, *h* 451.

ir < *r* 70.

ī < *a* 6, *ā* 17, *i* 28, = *ī* 35, < *u* 47,
ū 61, *r* 77, *ē* 89, *āi* 97, *ō* 104, *iya*
345, *iva* 391, *ēvā* 392.

u < *a* 4, *ā* 18, *i* 27, *ī* 38, = *u* 43,
< *ū* 59, *r* 74, *ō* 103, *āu* 110, *v* 365,
ava 380.

ur < *r* 73.

ū < *a* 7, *ā* 18, *i* 29, *u* 48, = *ū* 56,
< *ō* 105, *āu* 111, *v* 365, *ava* 380,
uva 394.

r = *r* 66.

ē < *a* 8, *ā* 19, *i* 30, *ī* 40, *u* 49, *ū* 62,
r 78, *ē* 85, *āi* 98, *ō* 106, *aya* 342,
ayō 344, *āya* 347, *ava* 381, *avi*
384, *āvay* 387.

ai < *ē* 91, *āi* 96, *āya* 348, *āvay*
387.

āi = *āi* 95, < *ayō* 344, *avi* 385.

ō < *a* 9, *ā* 20, *ī* 41, *u* 50, *ū* 63,
r 79, *ē* 90, *ō* 99, *āu* 112, *ayū* 343,
ava 382, *āva* 386, *ivā* 389, *ivē*
390, *uva* 394.

au < *a* 10, *ō* 100, *āu* 109, *ava* 383.

āu = *āu* 108.

k = *k* 114, < *kh* 132, *g* 141, *gh* 149,
p 288, *v* 366, *h* 445.

k(k) < *kt* 461, *ky* 474, *kr* 475, *kv*
479, *kš* 480, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 713, *lk*
797, *šk* 822, *sk* 854, *sv* 900.

k̄ < *k* 117.

kh < *k* 115, = *kh* 131, < *gh* 150,
š 404.

(*k*)*kh* < *kš* 481, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 714,
ršn 784, *šk* 823, *šy* 850, *sk* 855,
st 860, *sth* 866, *sp̄h* 882, *sr* 893,
sv 901.

x < *k* 115, *d* 248, *bh* 312, *h* 446.

x(x) < *sv* 901.

xt < *šk* 913.

xn < *šn* 921.

xs < *kš* 482, *šk* 914.

g < *k* 116, = *g* 140, < *gh* 151, *t* 222,
d 249, *v* 367.

g(g) < *kš* 483, *gn* 498, *gy* 502, *gr*
503, *ṛg* 510, *jñ* 515, *dḡ* 538, *dḡ*
600, *dgh* 601, *rg* 717, *rḡh* 719,
lg 798.

gy < *jñ* 516.

gv < *v* 369.

gh < *kh* 133, *g* 142, = *gh* 148.

(*g*)*gh* < *ghr* 504, *dgh* 602, *rgr* 718,
rḡh 720.

γ < *kh* 133, *g* 142, *j* 179, *v* 368,
š 440.

(*γ*)*γ* < *gn* 498.

γd < *kt* 462.

ym < km 472.
 ys < kts 463.
 yg < nk 506, ñc 528, m 321.
 ygh < nkh 509, yg 511.
 c < k 118, kh 134, = c 155, < ch
 173, j 180, t 223, š 424, h 447.
 (c)c < kš 484, cy 513, cv 514, ñc
 529, ty 564, ts 591, tsy 595, šc
 810, sc 856, šk 908, šy 930.
 c̄ < c 170.
 ċ < k 118, c 156, š 424.
 (ċ)ċ < cv 514, tr 567, šy 930.
 ch < c 157, = ch 172, < š 396, š
 406, s 411.
 (c)ch < kš 485, ts 592, tsy 596, thy
 598, ps 684, šc 811.
 j < c 158, = j 178, < jh 189, y
 331, r 350, s 412, š 425, š 441.
 (j)j < kš 486, jñ 517, jy 521, jv
 524, ñc 530, dy 607, dr 609, bj 691,
 rj 722, ry 763, hy 947.
 j̇ < c 159, s 433.
 jh < j 181, = jh 188, < d 250,
 s 412.
 (j)jh < kš 486, jy 522, jv 525, dhy
 619, dhr 626, dhv 629, rjh 725,
 sy 890, hy 948.
 ñ < n 276.
 (ñ)ñ < jñ 518, ñc 532, ny 554, ny
 661, šn 838.
 ñj < ñc 531, ny 553, ny 660.
 † < ch 174, = † 191, < †h 200, ḋ
 209, t 224.
 (†)† < n† 541, tt 559, tr 568, nth 641,
 rt 730, rth 739, st 824, str 828,
 sth 834, st 861, sth 867.
 †r < tr 569.
 †h < c 160, ch 175, = †h 199, < t
 225, th 238.
 (†)†h < tr 570, ddh 603, rth 740, st
 825, str 829, sth 835, sty 865, sth
 868.
 ḋ < † 192, †h 201, = ḋ 208, < t
 226, d 251, dh 265, l 359, š 397.
 (ḋ)ḋ < dg 539, n† 542, nd 546, ndh

549, tr 571, dr 610, pt 665, rt 731,
 rd 743, rdh 749, st 826, str 830,
 sth 836, sth 869.
 dh < † 193, †h 202, th 239, dh 266,
 r 351.
 (ḋ)dh < ddh 604, dr 611, rd 744,
 rdh 750, rš 777, st 827, str 831,
 sth 837.
 n < n 277.
 (n)n < ksn 492, jñ 519, ñc 533, ny
 555, nv 557, ny 662, rn 726, rn
 754, sn 839.
 n† < n†h 544.
 ntr < ntr 637.
 nd < n† 543.
 ndr < ntr 638, ndr 648.
 ndh < n†h 545.
 nh < sn 840, sn 874, hn 940.
 t < k 119, c 161, ch 176, † 194,
 = t 220, < th 240, d 252, dh 267,
 s 413.
 (t)t < kt 464, gdh 495, tm 561, ty
 565, tr 572, tv 581, nt 632, nth
 644, ndh 651, pt 666, rk 715, rt
 732, st 862, sth 870, st 915.
 tr < rk 716.
 th < c 162, t 227, = th 237, < d
 253.
 (t)th < kth 469, nt 633, ndh 652,
 rth 741, st 863, sty 865, sth 871,
 st 916.
 θ < c 162, t 227, s 414.
 d < c 163, j 182, ḋ 210, t 228, = d
 246, < dh 268, r 352, s 415.
 (d)d < gdh 496, jv 526, tv 582, dy
 608, dr 612, dv 616, dhy 620,
 dhr 627, dhv 630, nt 634, nth 645,
 ndh 653, pt 667, bd 694, rt 733,
 rd 745, sn 922.
 dr < tr 573.
 dh < th 241, d 254, = dh 264.
 (d)dh < gdh 497, dhy 621, dhr 628,
 dhv 631, pt 668, bñ 695, rd 746,
 rdh 751, rdhv 752.
 ð < d 254.

- n* < *ṇ* 218, *d* 255, = *n* 275, < *m* 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.
(n)n < *kn* 470, *kṣn* 492, *gn* 499, *jñ* 520, *ñc* 534, *ḍg* 540, *ṇḍ* 548, *ṇḍh* 550, *ṇy* 556, *ṇv* 558, *nt* 636, *ndr* 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv* 664, *rn* 727, *rn* 755, *rśn* 785, *ṣn* 841, *sn* 875, *śn* 923, *hn* 941.
nd < *ṇḍ* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr* 649, *ndh* 654, *śn* 922.
ndh < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.
(n)nh < *ndh* 656.
nm < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.
nv < *sv* 902.
nh < *ṣn* 842, *sn* 876.
p < *k* 120, *ṭ* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.
p(p) < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv* 583, *pn* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp* 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *ṣp* 844, *sp* 877.
pt < *tm* 562.
ps < *fs* 690.
ph < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.
(p)ph < *ṣp* 845, *sp* 878, *ṣph* 883, *sv* 903.
f < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.
f(f) < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.
ft < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.
fth < *pt* 670.
fr < *tr* 574.
b < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.
b(b) < *jv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bj* 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mḅ* 704, *rb* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.
bḍ < *bj* 692.
bs < *ps* 685.
bh < *k* 121, *dh* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305, = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h* 449.
(b)bh < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753, *rbh* 760, *rv* 769, *ṣm* 847, *hv* 949.
m < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315, = *m* 319, < *v* 374.
m(m) < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605, *nm* 659, *pn* 677, *pny* 678, *mn* 701, *mb* 705, *mbh* 706, *mr* 710, *mv* 711, *rm* 761, *lm* 801, *śm* 814, *ṣm* 848, *śm* 925, *hm* 944.
mḅ < *mp* 703, *mṛ* 709, *lm* 800, *hm* 945.
mbh < *hm* 946.
mv < *m* 327.
mḥ < *bh* 316, *mbh* 707, *ṣm* 849, *sm* 884.
mṣ < *ps* 686.
y < *ē* 92, *k* 122, *kh* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164, *j* 183, *t* 229, *th* 242, *d* 256, *dh* 270, *p* 292, *b* 307, = *y* 330, < *v* 375, *ś* 398, *ṣ* 406, *h* 451.
y(y) < *dhy* 622.
yah < *ā* 64.
r < *r* 81, *ṭ* 196, *ḍ* 211, *ḍh* 215, *t* 230, *d* 257, *n* 280, *y* 334, = *r* 349, < *l* 361.
r(r) < *kr* 476, *ghr* 505, *tr* 575, *ntr* 639, *pt* 672, *pr* 681, *rn* 728, *rt* 735, *rd* 747, *rn* 756, *rm* 762, *ry* 764, *rv* 771, *rṣ* 778, *rśn* 786, *rh* 795.
ra < *r* 69.
ri < *r* 72.
ru < *r* 75.
rj < *ry* 765.
rth < *rt* 729.
rd < *rt* 734.
rbh < *rv* 770.
rs < *rśn* 787.
rs < *rj* 723, *rś* 779, *rśn* 788.
rh < *th* 203.
r < *ḍ* 211.
rh < *th* 203, *ḍh* 214.
l < *ṭ* 197, *th* 204, *ḍ* 212, *ḍh* 216, *n* 219, *t* 231, *th* 243, *d* 258, *dh* 271, *n* 281, *y* 335, *r* 354, = *l* 358, < *ś* 426.
l(l) < *kl* 478, *tr* 576, *tv* 586, *dr* 613,

- dhy* 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748,
rn 757, *ry* 766, *rs* 794, *rh* 796, *ly*
 803, *lv* 806, *št* 917.
lx < *ktr* 467.
ld < *rt* 737.
ls < *sr* 894.
lh < *th* 205, *dh* 216.
(l)lh < *ly* 804.
l < *t* 198, *d* 213, *dh* 217, *n* 219, *th*
 244, *d* 259, *n* 282, *r* 355, *l* 362.
l(l) < *str* 832.
lh < *dh* 217.
v < *k* 123, *kh* 138, *g* 144, *j* 184,
t 232, *d* 260, *dh* 272, *n* 283, *p* 293,
ph 299, *b* 308, *bh* 317, *m* 324,
y 336, = *v* 364, < *s* 399, *s* 416,
h 450.
v(v) < *tv* 587, *dv* 618, *pt* 673, *rv* 772,
vy 808, *vr* 809, *sv* 904, *sm* 926,
hv 950.
va < *u* 65, *o* 107.
vd < *pt* 674.
vr < *bhr* 700.
vs < *ps* 687.
s = *s* 395, < *s* 407, *s* 417.
s(s) < *rs* 780, *sr* 818.
sc < *cch* 512.
sch < *cch* 512.
s = *s* 403, *s* 418.
s(s) < *rs* 781, *sy* 851.
s < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233,
m 325, *s* 400, *s* 408, = *s* 410, <
s 427, *s* 434, *h* 452.
s(s) < *ks* 487, *nc* 535, *ty* 566, *tr* 577,
ts 594, *tsy* 597, *thy* 599, *ps* 688,
rs 774, *rsv* 775, *rs* 782, *sc* 812,
sm 815, *sr* 819, *sl* 820, *sv* 821,
sy 852, *sc* 859, *st* 864, *sp* 879, *sm*
 885, *sy* 891, *sr* 895, *sv* 905, *sk* 909,
št 918.
sk < *sk* 910.
st < *sth* 872.
str < *pstr* 689.
sp < *tv* 588.
sf < *sp* 880.
sb < *sp* 881, *sm* 886.
sm < *sm* 927.
sr < *dr* 614.
sl < *sr* 896.
s < *k* 124, *c* 166, *s* 419, = *s* 423,
 < *s* 435, *s* 435, 442, *h* 453.
s(s) < *ks* 488, *tr* 578, *ts* 593, *ps* 683,
rs 781, *rsn* 789, *sc* 857, *sth* 873,
sy 892, *sr* 897, *sk* 911, *sm* 928,
sy 931.
sk < *sc* 858, *št* 919.
sc < *sk* 912.
št < *sty* 920.
sn < *ksn* 493, *rsn* 790.
sv < *rsv* 792.
s < *k* 126, *c* 167, *j* 185, *jh* 190,
s 420, *s* 428, = *s* 432, < *s* 443,
h 454.
s(s) < *ks* 490, *jy* 523, *dhy* 624, *sm*
 887, *sn* 924, *sd* 934, *sd* 938.
sy < *ks* 463.
sd < *sd* 939.
sm < *sm* 888, *sv* 936.
s < *k* 126, *g* 145, *c* 168, *j* 186, *s* 429,
s 436, = *s* 439, < *h* 454.
s(s) < *jy* 523, *rj* 724, *rsn* 791, *sy*
 932.
sg < *sg* 933.
sb < *sb* 937.
sm < *sm* 889, *sm* 929.
h < *k* 125, *kh* 136, *g* 146, *gh* 152,
c 169, *th* 206, *t* 234, *th* 245, *d* 261,
dh 273, *ph* 300, *bh* 318, *y* 337,
s 401, *s* 409, *s* 421, *s* 430, *s* 437,
 = *h* 444.
h(h) < *ks* 489, *nc* 536, *tv* 589, *dhy*
 625, *ryh* 721, *rsv* 776, *rs* 783, *str*
 833, *sn* 843, *sp* 846, *sy* 853, *sr*
 898, *sv* 906, *hn* 943, *hv* 951.
ht < *kt* 466.
hn < *ksn* 494.
hm < *mbh* 708.
hr < *ktr* 468, *kr* 477, *tr* 579, *dr*
 615.
hr < *th* 207.

<i>hl</i> < <i>pr</i> 682, <i>rt</i> 738, <i>rth</i> 742, <i>rs</i> 793.	<i>māh</i> < <i>nth</i> 643.
<i>m</i> < <i>m</i> 326.	<i>mā</i> < <i>nj</i> 537.
<i>mgh</i> < <i>nkh</i> 509.	<i>mīr</i> < <i>nāh</i> 551.
<i>mj(j)</i> < <i>nāhy</i> 657, <i>śr</i> 816.	<i>mīv</i> < <i>īm</i> 802.
<i>m(j)jh</i> < <i>nāhy</i> 658, <i>śr</i> 817.	<i>mś</i> < <i>rś</i> 773.
<i>mīh</i> < <i>nth</i> 642.	<i>mś</i> < <i>śn</i> 924.
	<i>mīh</i> < <i>nāh</i> 552, <i>mgh</i> 712.

III. WORD-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

A. Sanskrit.

a.
akṛnavam 74.
akṛnōt 74.
akṣapāṭa 193.
agni 498, 960.
agra, 503.
anākōṭha 204.
anākōṭ(ī)a 204.
anaga 34.
anagāra 3, 355.
anagulikā 4.
acalā 158.
acyuta 513.
ajagara 187.
añjana 537.
atavi 192.
atasi 11, 410.
atyunnata 565.
atra 458.
atha 241.
athavā 245.
adya 607, 608.
adhas 11.
adhijya 522.
adhvan 631.
anurāga 11.
anurūpa 958.
anuśāsana 417.
antaḥkaraṇa 954.
andhakāra 656.
anya 661, 663.
anvēṣaṇa 664.
anvēṣanti 407.

api 290.
apriya 680.
apsarā 684.
abhimanyu 324.
**abhiśāṇa* 313.
abhyantara 697.
abhyayana 341.
amātya 11, 565.
araghatṭa 152.
araṇya 11, 554, 556.
arka 713.
argha 720.
artha 739, 740.
arbuda 759.
alanakāra 11.
alika 37.
avakāśa 128.
avajñā 380.
avaṭa 11, 958.
avatāra 383.
avatrāna 11.
avāra 382.
avalambati 381.
avavāda 382.
avaśyāya 382.
avasthita 380.
aśīti 395, 400.
aśōka 11.
aśru 816, 817, 819.
aśva 821.
aśvatara 879.
aṣṭi 8.
aṣṭāu 825.
astamanaya 958.

asthi 867, 869.
asmi 884.
a.
ākāra 122.
ākāśa 125.
āgata 147.
ācārya 163, 164.
ājñā 516.
ājñācakra 475, 519.
ātapa 232.
ātman 561, 562, 563.
ādēśa 256.
āpāta 227.
āpīda 291.
**ābhātāpa* 16, 312.
āma 139.
āmalaka 324, 358.
āmra 709, 710.
āyudha 336.
ārabdha 351.
āryaputra 294.
ālabbhiṣyanti 407.
ālambana 361, 705.
ālāna 955.
ālōka 19.
āvarita 732.
āvirbhutvā 340.
āviṣkṛta 388.
āśā 19.
āścarya 8, 810.
i.
ikṣu 26, 27, 29, 487.
itara 229.

iti 25.
idāntm 31, 328, 458,
 953.
iva 24.
iṣu 27.
iḥalōka 456.
 ī.
īśvara 37, 821.
 ū.
ukta 377.
ucchiṣṭa 512.
ucyatē 377.
udupa 211, 213.
uita 228.
utkaṇṭhā 461.
utpadyantē 560.
utsada 594.
utsava 48.
utsuka 594.
udaka 51, 122.
udumbara 51.
udūlā 216.
udghāṭayati 601, 602.
udghōṣa 602.
udvēcṣati 618.
udvōḍha 216.
undara 45.
undura 45.
unmārga 659.
upaṭṭhāyaka 346.
upadhyāya 51, 293,
 619.
upariṣati 51.
upaviṣṭa 376.
upasthāna 51.
upasthāpitvā 16.
urvaśī 809.
ulūkhala 50.
ulkā 50, 797.
uṣita 377.
uṣtra 828.
uṣṇa 838, 839, 840, 841,
 842.

uṣman 847, 849.

ū.

ūnavimśati 65.
ūrja 63.
ūrṇa 727, 755.
ūrṇavābhi 313.
ūrdhva 752, 753.
ūrmi 83.

ṛ.

rḥṣa 72, 485, 487.
ṛtu 74, 220.
ṛtvij 70.
ṛddhā 72.
ṛṣi 71, 82.

ē.

ēka 86, 92, 114.
ēkaṣaṣṭi 409.
ēkasaptati 421.
ēkādaśa 9, 86, 87, 257.
ētādyśa 257.
ēdrśa 458.
ēnas 281, 282.
ēraṇḍa 93.
ēva 340.

ō.

ōjas 103.
ōṣṭha 458, 835.

āu.

āutsukya 110.
āupamya 112.
āupaśivi 28.
āuśadhi 273.

k.

kamsa 890.
kakkōla 119, 957.
kaṇkaṇa 506.
kacchapa 5, 291.
kaṭāha 192, 196, 197.
kaṭhina 25.

kaṇṭaka 541, 542, 543.
kanva 557.
kathana 245.
katham 328.
kathayati 114, 342.
kathā 240.
kadamba 258.
kadali 260, 261, 262.
kanya 660, 661.
kapardika 747.
kapāṭa 8, 191, 290,
 293.
kapāla 293.
kapiṇjala 28, 293.
kapittha 294.
kapōta 290.
kabandha 306, 307.
kampati 703, 953.
kambala 704, 705.
kambōja 180.
kariṣa 406.
karōṭi 195.
karkaṭa 713.
karkaṭaka 197.
karkaṭikā 4, 713.
karkara 713.
karna 727.
karlari 732.
karpāsa 18, 410, 421.
karpūra 349, 758.
karbura 44.
karman 761.
karṣaṇa 777.
kalpa 799.
kalpatē 799.
kalya 803, 804.
kāmsya 890.
kāka 116.
kāncana 535.
kātara 229.
kārya 763, 765.
kārṣāpaṇa 783.
kāla 362.
kalāyasa 346.
kāsa 115.

kiñculaka 363.
kinva 557, 558.
kiyant 345.
kirāta 118.
kisalaya 339.
kīṭa 37, 192.
kīṭṣa 40.
kīra 116.
kīrti 37.
kīla 37.
kuñcikā 530, 531, 953.
kuṭumba 45.
kuṭumbaka 194.
kuṭhara 205.
kuṭhāri 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207.
kuddāla 50, 127.
kunda 118.
kupyati 679.
kubja 115, 691, 692, 693.
kumāra 327.
kumbhakāra 706, 707, 708.
kurkura 715, 716.
kula 48.
kuṣṭha 50, 836, 837.
kuṣṭhin 50.
kūṭa 198.
kūpa 59, 115, 294, 329.
kṛta 71, 228, 231.
kṛtvā 80.
kṛpana 71.
kṛṣi 76, 118, 119.
kṛṣṇa 840, 841, 842.
klpta 84.
kēyūra 88.
keśari 401.
kāitabha 193.
kāivarta 98.
kōkila 122, 123, 128, 959.
kōti 357.
kōṣṭha 834.
kāukṣeyaka 110.

kāumudī 112.
kriḍa 40.
kriḍati 212.
kriḍaka 115.
kliṣṭa 478.
klēśa 960.
kṣana 487.
kṣatriya 485.
kṣamā 3, 319.
kṣaya 342.
kṣāra 355, 491.
kṣina 486.
kṣiyatē 486.
kṣira 35, 37, 480, 490.
kṣudra 484, 610.
kṣudhā 264, 268.
kṣetra 485, 572.
kṣepaṇa 955.

kh.

khaṭvā 5.
khaḍga 538, 539, 540, 960.
khaṇḍaka 546, 548.
khanēt 277.
khara 131.
khalu 132, 363.
khalvāṭa 806.
khā 132.
khādati 16, 131, 256.
khādana 262.
khādita 256.

g.

gaccha 512.
gaja 183.
gaṇḍaka 548.
gata 228.
gadgada 257.
ga(m)bhīra 37, 141.
garuḍa 141.
garjana 722.
garjita 722.
garta 731.

garḍabha 140, 743, 744, 745, 746, 955.
garbha 760.
garbhini 25, 42.
garha 795, 796.
gala 358.
gahvara 949.
gāthā 245.
gunagaṇayukta 218.
guhya 947, 948.
grāhṛa 71, 626, 627, 628.
grha p. ix, 67, 68, 78, 82 (bis), 142.
grhagōḍhikā 271.
grhastha 72, 872.
grhitvā 40.
gēha p. ix, 67, 78, 142.
gēhini 456.
gāirika 27, 98.
gōdhūma 101, 106, 142, 273, 274, 959.
gōṣṭhika 118.
gōṣṭhī 835.
gōsvāmika 324, 326.
gāura 112.
gāurava 109.
grantha 642, 643, 644.
granthi 641, 642.
grāma 16, 319.
grīṣma 847, 848, 849.

gh.

ghaṭa 148, 192.
ghṛta 71.
ghōṭaka 151.

c.

cakōra 122.
cakra 165, 169, 475.
cakṣu 9, 10.
cañcu 9, 160, 162.
caturtha 235, 739, 740, 741, 959.
caturdaśa 745.

<i>catvāri</i> 155, 156, 581, 587.	<i>jāgarati</i> 12.	<i>tāmra</i> 224, 709, 710.
<i>catvāriṃśat</i> 354, 355.	<i>jāmātrka</i> 81.	<i>tāmraparṇa</i> 727.
<i>candra</i> 648, 649, 650.	<i>jālma</i> 801.	<i>tāla</i> 359.
<i>campaka</i> 702.	<i>jihvā</i> 28, 182, 185, 949, 950, 951, 952.	<i>tāvat</i> 228, 374.
<i>carana</i> 354.	<i>jira</i> 38.	<i>tintidī</i> 27, 30.
<i>carmakāra</i> 128, 959.	<i>jīva</i> 35, 376.	<i>tiraścina</i> 39.
<i>carman</i> 761.	<i>jīvita</i> 35.	<i>tilaka</i> 224.
<i>carvayati</i> 767, 768.	<i>jugupsati</i> 182, 684.	<i>tiṣṭhati</i> 223.
<i>calati</i> 358.	<i>jūta</i> 235.	<i>tiṣṭna</i> 37.
<i>calana</i> 5.	<i>jñāti</i> 520.	<i>tīrtha</i> 41, 83.
<i>cānakya</i> 474.	<i>jñāna</i> 516, 517.	<i>tuccha</i> 233, 234.
<i>cāmara</i> 12, 328.	<i>jyā</i> 522.	<i>tunda</i> 220, 225.
<i>cikitsā</i> 161.	<i>jyōti</i> 220.	<i>tulādhāra</i> 272.
<i>cihna</i> 941, 942.	<i>jyōtsnā</i> 103.	<i>*tusya</i> 890.
✓ <i>cuṣ</i> 191.	<i>jvara</i> 527.	<i>tūrya</i> 59, 764.
<i>cūrṇa</i> 59, 728.	<i>jvalati</i> 525.	<i>trṇa</i> 66, 82.
<i>cēṣa</i> 196, 197.	<i>jvāla</i> 524, 526, 527.	<i>trpyati</i> 227.
<i>cōra</i> 106, 169.		<i>trṣṇā</i> 71, 82, 843.
<i>cāurya</i> 110.	<i>jh</i>	<i>tē</i> 228.
<i>cyavatē</i> 513.	<i>jhampa</i> 188.	<i>tējas</i> 182.
<i>ch</i>	<i>jhalla</i> 189.	<i>tāila</i> 98.
<i>chagala</i> 141.	<i>jhāulika</i> 112.	<i>trayaścātvarīṃśat</i> 813.
✓ <i>chap</i> 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 287.	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>trayastrīṃśat</i> 336.
<i>chardati</i> 743.	<i>ṭalati</i> 362.	<i>trayōdaśa</i> 8, 13, 344.
<i>chayā</i> 22, 177, 329, 337, 378.	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>trayōvīṃśati</i> 376.
<i>chidra</i> 613.	✓ <i>ḍap</i> 210.	<i>trimaṇḍala</i> 572.
✓ <i>chuṣ</i> 191.	<i>ḍākini</i> 397.	<i>trīni</i> 569.
<i>chupati</i> 43.	<i>t</i>	<i>truṭati</i> 191.
<i>j</i>	<i>takta</i> 462.	<i>trāilōkya</i> 474.
<i>jagat</i> 143.	<i>takṣan</i> 226.	<i>tearita</i> 581.
<i>jaṅgala</i> 181, 511.	<i>tataḥ</i> 228.	<i>d</i>
<i>jaṅgha</i> 178.	<i>tathā</i> 241.	<i>damṣṭrā</i> 830, 831, 832, 833.
<i>jana</i> 8, 181.	<i>tapas</i> 289, 294.	<i>daka</i> 122.
<i>janman</i> 659.	<i>tapta</i> 667, 670.	<i>dakṣiṇa</i> 481, 489.
<i>japana</i> 287.	<i>tapyātē</i> 679.	<i>dadrū</i> 610, 611, 960.
<i>jambuka</i> 705.	<i>tamasa</i> 3.	<i>dadrūghna</i> 249, 957.
<i>jambūla</i> 360.	<i>taru</i> 53.	<i>dadhi</i> 953.
<i>jarāyu</i> 332.	<i>talē</i> 94.	✓ <i>dam</i> 9.
<i>jala</i> 185.	<i>taskara</i> 854.	<i>dayālu</i> 330.
<i>jalūkikā</i> 120, 957.	<i>tādṛśa</i> 257.	<i>darśana</i> 773.
	<i>tāmbūla</i> 63.	<i>daśa</i> 246, 401.
		<i>daśati</i> 246, 251.
		<i>dahati</i> 251.

dāḍima 212.
dāman 322.
dālīma 212.
dāva 375.
divasa 25, 376, 421.
divā 375.
dirgha 35, 83, 720, 721.
duḥkha 954.
dukūla 57.
dugdha 495, 496, 497.
duṇḍubha 546.
duṇḍubhi 315.
durōsārīta 356.
durgā 252.
durgādēvī 958.
durbala 12, 44, 759.
duṣkṛta 822.
duhitār 52, 250, 254.
dūta 251.
dūrva 22.
dr̥mhitā 254.
dr̥ḍha 217.
dr̥ṣṭi 33.
dr̥ṣṭha 55.
dēva 85, 365.
dēvakula 958.
dēvara 87, 375, 392.
dēvālaya 16, 339.
dēśīya 395.
dēhālī 360.
dōgdhum 495.
dōla 251.
dōhada 258, 259.
dōhala 258, 259.
dāuvārīka 110.
dyuti 607.
dyūtākara 3.
dyōtāyati 335.
drākṣā 612.
dvādaśin 617, 958.
dvādaśanavārṣa 398.
dvāra 616, 617.
dvi 616.
dviguṇa 147, 959.
dvītiya 37.

dvibhāga 30.
dvīpa 616.
dvēṣas 617.

dh.
✓dhakk 266.
dhattūra 268.
ghanu 4.
dhāmātī 268.
dharmā 268.
dhavala 264, 383.
dhārayati 15, 267, 342.
dhāvaka 264.
dhūma 59, 61, 326, 328.
dhṛta 80.
dhṛṣṭa 265, 266.
dhenu 277.
dhāirya 97.
dhyaṇa 619 (bis).
dhruva 628.
dhruva 629, 630, 631.

n.
nakula 123, 128.
nakta 462.
nakha 5, 131, 956.
nagara 141, 143, 144.
nagna 5, 278, 498.
nadī 262, 277.
nabhas 317, 329.
nayati 342.
nayana 342.
nartakī 730.
nava 'new' 281.
nava 'nine' 374.
navaka 129, 281.
navatī 364.
navanavati 370, 956.
navanīta 281.
nahyati 948.
nāga 143.
nāpita 290, 959.
nābhi 315.
nāman 275, 326, 327.
nāmayati 275.

nārikēla 122, 128.
niḥśvāsa 954.
nikāṣa 959.
nikāṣa 125.
nītya 565, 566.
niārā 22, 30, 609, 612.
nimba 281, 705.
nirgranthā 718.
nirghṛṇa 720.
nirjhara 725.
niṣkarṣaṇa 822.
niṣputra 844.
niṣe 155.
nīda 40.
nīpa 291.
nīla 55, 281.
nūnam 57, 59.
nūpura 62, 955.
nēmi 328.
nāirāṅjana 280, 956.
nāu 108.

p.
pakta 466.
pakva 2, 3, 5, 287, 479.
pakṣa 481, 487, 489.
parākti 507.
pacati 165.
pañca 535, 536.
pañcadaśa 263.
pañcaviṃśati 4.
pañcāsata 529, 532, 533, 534.
pañjara 3.
paṭhati 202, 203.
paṭhana 201.
patati 226.
patāka 226.
pattana 559.
pathya 598.
pāda 256.
padika 262.
pantha 647.
param 356.
parampara 702.

paraśu 399.
parasvant 290.
parigha 289.
paridhiyatē 955.
parikṣā 36.
parut 5.
paraśa 289.
parē 356.
paryavāka 506, 766.
paryāna 766.
parvata 768, 772.
parvan 770.
palāyati 347.
palāśa 359.
pavana 364, 365.
paśu 401.
paścat 287, 810, 811,
 812, 813.
**paścē* 94.
pādika 261.
pāpa 293.
pāribhadra 289.
pārśva 775, 776.
pāśa 289, 401.
picumanda 955.
pitāra 235.
pipāsā 292.
pipilika 288, 957.
pippala 358, 361.
pibati 309.
pīṭha 201, 202.
piḍana 208, 211, 213.
puṇya 554, 555.
putra 568, 571, 572.
punar 44, 291.
pupphusa 49.
pura 48.
purandara 352.
puravāsin 372.
puruṣa 43, 45, 408.
puṣkara 823.
puspa 289, 844, 845.
puśya 851, 852, 853.
puṣṭaka 50, 863.
pūgaṇphala 12.

pūya 332.
pūrāna 350.
pūrṇa 728.
pūrva 62.
pr(c)chati 177, 512.
prthaktva 4.
prth(i)vi 9, 74, 245.
prḍāku 68, 82, 329.
prstha 71, 76, 77, 82
 (bis), 835.
pāura 109.
pāusya 851, 852, 853.
prati 224, 680.
pratibhāti 311.
prativāsin 389.
prativēśaka 87.
prativēśayati 390.
prathama 4, 238, 244,
 245.
prathamaputra 570.
**prathara* 3.
pradakṣiṇa 5.
pradīpta 258.
pradēśa 252.
prabhavāmi 379.
pravatā 382.
pravartati 375.
pravāda 251.
pravāsin 38.
prasāda 422.
prastara 863.
prasthāpana 680.
prahara 3.
prāpnōti 675, 677.
priya 345.
prēma 85.

ph.

phadīṅga 296.
phana 295.
phalgu 8, 296.
phāla 361.
phupphusa 49.
phēna 87.

b.

baḍiśa 209.
badura 9.
badhira 8, 273.
badhnati 303.
bandhyā 308, 658.
balivarda 363, 748.
balvaja 304, 805.
bahurūpa 61.
badha 304.
bāspa 308, 844, 845,
 846.
bahu 53.
biḍāla 955.
bindu 27.
bilva 806.
biṭa 37.
bībhatsa 591.
budhyatē 303, 619, 624.
bubhukṣa 490.
brhaspati 305, 456,
 879.
brahmaṇya 553.
brāhmaṇa 218, 696,
 944, 945, 946.

bh.

bhakta 464.
bhagini 28, 147, 314,
 959.
bhaṅga 315.
bhaṭa 192.
bhanati 316.
bhadra 613.
bhaya 342.
bharati 2.
bhavati 318, 382.
bhaviṣyāmi 853.
bhaviṣyāsi 418.
bhaviṣyē 384.
bhasvara 905.
bhāgaadhēya 147.
bhāgīṇya 16, 146.
bhāṇḍa 318.

bhānumati 46.
bhāṣā 404.
bhāṣya 357.
bhinadmi 606.
bhīma 40.
bhīṣma 36.
bhūmi 56, 311, 326.
bhōga 140.
bhōjana 99.
bhramara 325, 698, 699.
bhrātar 699.
bhrātṛja 178.
bhrātṛjāyā 178.
bhrūmukha 57.

m.

maksikā 481, 485, 487.
maga 141.
maṭha 199.
matsya 595, 596, 597.
mathana 237.
madgu 600.
madhu 268.
madhura 270.
madhya 8, 319, 619, 620, 621, 624, 625.
madhvālu 629.
manōrama 4, 323.
mantra 637, 638.
manmatha 324.
manyāmi 663.
mayūra 343.
marakata 116.
masūra 60.
mahārāṣṭra 829.
mahārgḥa 16, 444, 719.
mahiṣa 323, 329.
māca 158.
mātar 232, 235.
mātṛka 81.
mātra 19.
māna 459.
mānanā 276.
mānuṣa 4, 404.

mārga 16.
mārgayati 717.
mārgaśira 16.
mārgaśirṣa 778.
mitra 580.
mithyā 598, 599.
mīnāms 324.
mukta 461.
mukta 50, 464.
mukha 44, 131, 136, 138.
mugdha 497.
mucanti 163.
mudga 600.
mudgara 4, 13, 600.
mudrā 43, 612.

muṣala 48.
muṣṭi 48.
muhūrta 732.
mūḍha 214.
mūḍhatva 215.
mūḍya 58, 59, 804.
mūṣ 58.
mūṣa 403.
mṛga 71.
mṛgaya 336.
mṛgānka 71.
mṛnāla 74.
mṛta 68, 319.
mṛttikā 68, 82 (bis), 559.
mṛṣā(vādin) 79, 82 (bis).
mṛṣṭa 824.
mēgha 89, 150, 152.
māuli 109.
mīlayati 960.
mlēccha 86.

y.

ya 331.
yajña 515.
yat prabhṛti 329.
yathā 3, 331.
yadi 246, 252.

s

yantragṛha 331.
yabhati 330.
yāmala 324, 361.
yaṣṭi 335, 825.
yāna 331.
yāvat 374.
yuga 50, 142.
yugala 140, 147.
yugma 501.
yusmākam 338.
yūkā 338.
yūtha 237.
yōktra 99.
yōgya 331, 502.
yāvāna 112, 331.

r.

rakta 464.
raṇḍā 547, 548.
ratna 960.
ratnī 354.
ratha 242, 245.
rananājaya 337.
rarāta 359, 360.
raśmī 815.
rājakula 959.
rājan 180, 183, 184, 187, 349.
rājila 27.
rājñī 519.
rājya 521.
rātrī 19, 572, 580.
rāyati 348.
rukmaratī 471.
rukminī 473.
ruṣṭa 827.
rēkhā 133, 349.
rējju 354.
rēpha 298.
rēhmi 358.
rōcati 103.
rōdana 959.
rōman 310, 326.
rōhita 106.

l

lagna 358, 498.
lagyatē 502.
laghu 152.
laghuka 955.
lāṅgūla 510.
lajjā 329.
labdha 695.
labhati 318.
labhyatē 697.
lalāṭa 359, 360.
lavana 360, 380, 382.
laśuna 402.
lahari 8.
lāṅgala 360, 510.
likṣā 361, 955.
likhati 131, 137.
lipi 290.
limpati 358.
līṇī(h)ā 360.
lēṣṭu 826.
lēhmi 358.
lōṭyām 103.
lōpāśa 16, 17, 290, 293, 361.
lōha 444.
lōhakāra 103.

v.

varāgana 8.
vacana 171, 277.
vaḍiśa 209.
vatsa 5, 7, 591 (*bis*), 592, 593, 594.
vatsara 592.
vadhā 59, 270, 273.
vana 281, 282.
vanaspati 877, 879.
varkara 3, 9.
varga 717.
vartakā 374, 730, 734.
artikā 364, 732.
vardhaki 750.
vardhatē 749, 750, 751.
varṣa 781.

valkala 797.
valgā 798.
valguli 798.
vahni 940, 943.
vāṇija 219.
vāmana 328.
vāyu 339.
vālukā 45.
vāspa 372, 373.
viṁśati 28, 958.
vikarōti 123.
vikāsatē 123.
vighaṭatē 151.
vijñaptika 374.
vijnāna 518, 519.
vidyut 24, 607.
vidhyati 620.
virala 372.
vilāsa 417.
viṣa 409.
vismaya 884, 885.
vihvala 949, 951.
vrkṣa p. ix, 69, 75.
vṛtta 559.
vṛtti 225.
vṛddha 68, 74, 82, 103, 372.
vṛddhatva 583.
vṛddhi 604.
vṛnta 82.
vṛścika 364, 811.
vṛṣa 70.
vṛṣabha 68, 408.
vṛṣṭi 74.
vēdanā 87.
vēṣṭa 372, 373.
vēṣṭaka 826, 827.
vēṣṭana 90.
vāidya 608.
vāiśravaṇa 374.
vāihāyasa 346.
vāihāra 449.
vyamśana 807.
vyakti 33.
vyagra 503.

vyajana 187, 959.
vyatīta 807, 808.
vyathayati 241.
vyāghra 15, 16, 504, 807, 808.
vyāsa 357.
vyutsarga 594.
vrajati 180.
vrihi 456.
vruḍati 955.

ś.

śakaṭika 193.
śakṛt 396, 419.
śakthi 469.
śaknōti 470.
śakta 461.
śana 396.
śata 235, 395, 400.
śaphari 298, 300, 301.
śabara 303, 306.
śabda 694.
śayana 955.
śayanāsana 342.
śayyā 8.
śarad 262.
śarkara 713, 714.
śaka 397.
śakinī 397.
śākhā 133.
śāna 419.
śādvala 616.
śāluka 59.
śālmali 800, 801, 802.
śāvaka 396.
śithila 25, 239, 958.
śilā 400.
śiśira 402.
śiṣya 850.
śikara 121.
śighra 504.
śita 841.
śrṣa 37, 395, 401, 402, 780, 782, 783.
śuka 123.

śuṅṭhi 544, 545.
śuddha 603.
śuśruṣa 400.
śuṣka 822, 823.
śuśyati 852.
śūnya 662, 663.
śrīṅkhala 133, 508, 509,
 953.
śrīṅga 71.
śēṣa 396.
śāikṣa 489.
śāila 98.
śōbhati 400.
śāurya 111.
śmaśāna 814, 815.
śmaśru 9, 814, 819.
śyāmala 324, 361.
śraddhā 604.
śravaṇa 818, 819.
śrāmanēya 334.
śrikā 125.
ślāgha 960.
ślēṣma 820, 960.
śvaśura 349, 401.
śvaśrū 5, 818, 819, 821,
 895, 897.
śvāsa 821.

§.

ṣaṭpada 405.
ṣaṇḍha 408, 549, 550,
 551, 552, 953.
ṣaṣ 405.
ṣaṣṭi 824, 825.
ṣoḍaśa 212, 213, 403,
 408.

s.

sakaṭa 955.
sakāla 116.
sakhi 136.
saragē 94.
saṭā 193.
satya 5, 13, 564, 566.
samṇirundhati 269.

sandhi 8, 656.
sandhyā 657, 658.
sapādika 291.
saptacatvarimśat 8.
saptati 230.
saptan 410, 666.
saptaṣaṣṭi 665, 672.
saphala 298.
sabhika 417.
samaja 183.
samavasṛṣṭa 382.
samudra 4, 48, 955.
samrddhi 5.
sambhacanti 379.
sammārṣa 9.
sarayu 333.
sarpa 421, 758.
sarva 768, 769, 772.
sarvajña 517, 518, 520.
sarṣapa 5.
sahasra 415, 895.
sādhu 273.
sārdha 749, 750.
sāsnā 18.
simha 28, 410, 712,
 953.
sikṭha 469.
siṅcati 411.
sindūra 30.
sirā 411.
śidati 422.
stvyati 807.
sukumāra 115.
sukṛta 66.
sugandha 959.
sudhā 411.
supta 666, 667.
suruṅga 44.
suvarṇa 726, 727.
suvrṣṭi 372.
sūci 171.
sūtra 569.
sūtradhāra 411.
sūrya 58, 764, 765, 960.
śrṅgāla 34, 147.

8 2

śrjanakāra 125.
sāinya 96.
skandha 654, 656, 854,
 855, 953.
stana 276, 863.
stambha 860, 861.
stuti 45 (bis).
stāinya 862.
styāna 865.
stri 14, 34, 960.
sthala 362.
sthavira 384, 385.
sthānu 866.
sthāna 14, 280, 284, 868,
 871.
sthāpayati 19, 290.
sthāli 870.
sthira 870, 871.
sthūra 54, 57.
snāna 14, 275, 874, 876,
 960.
snāyu 334.
snusar 875.
snēha 452, 875.
snāihika 452.
spandana 878.
sparsā 877, 878.
sparsana 5, 774.
sphaṭika 125, 197.
sphuṭa 883.
sphurati 44.
sphōṭaka 882, 883.
sphōṭati 198.
smarana 960.
smarati 885.
smṛti 885.
syāla 891.
sruc 158.
srōtas 895, 898, 899.
staka 905.
svapant 291.
svapna 675.
svayampati 337.
svārga 905.
svāmin 905, 906.

<i>h.</i>	<i>hasta</i> 444, 455, 862, 863.	<i>*hṛdaka</i> 251.
<i>hamśa</i> 412, 953.	<i>hāridra</i> 354.	<i>hṛdaya</i> 71, 256, 330, 339, 444.
<i>hatyā</i> 564.	<i>hintāla</i> 445.	<i>hyastana</i> 862.
<i>haridrā</i> 25.	<i>hiranya</i> 556.	<i>hrada</i> 955.

B. Iranian.

(O.P.= Old Persian, which is cited in the Index only when no Avesta equivalent is found.)

<i>a.</i>	<i>ahmākəm</i> 115.	<i>✓karəš</i> 8.
<i>aiwirocayeiti</i> 313.	<i>ahmi</i> 340.	<i>karšayən</i> 781.
<i>axšaēna</i> 12, 87, 89.	<i>ā.</i>	<i>karšta</i> 74.
<i>angušta</i> 11, 510, 913, 915, 917, 918, 958.	<i>āgəmat</i> 501.	<i>karšvar</i> 792.
<i>antarə</i> 958.	<i>ātarš</i> 3, 21, 222, 340.	<i>kasu</i> 410, 421.
<i>anya</i> 3, 663.	<i>āfrīna</i> 279.	<i>kahrkāsa</i> 16, 115.
<i>āp</i> 20, 287, 290, 293, 294.	<i>āyapta</i> 21.	<i>kāvaya</i> 387.
<i>apərənāyu</i> 11, 67, 82.	<i>i.</i>	<i>kərəta</i> 118.
<i>apxs</i> 11.	<i>ištya</i> 24, 28, 920.	<i>kərənaoiti</i> 74, 82, 114.
<i>aicra</i> 700, 955.	<i>u.</i>	<i>kərəma</i> 67, 70, 82.
O.P. <i>amānaya</i> 17.	<i>upairi</i> 51, 293.	<i>kušaiti</i> 429.
<i>arəjah</i> 723, 724.	<i>uši</i> 50.	<i>kū</i> 59.
<i>arəša</i> 67, 71, 139, 429.	<i>uštra</i> 44, 51.	<i>kaofa</i> 103, 114, 117, 296, 297, 299, 300.
<i>ava</i> 371.	<i>ač.</i>	<i>x.</i>
<i>avaša</i> 382.	<i>ačxa</i> 89, 92, 131.	<i>xara</i> 131, 132, 134, 135, 136.
O.P. <i>avākanam</i> 328.	<i>aēθrapaiti</i> 458.	<i>*xara-gaoša</i> 144.
<i>avivanta</i> 365.	<i>aēva</i> 92.	<i>xrafstra</i> 689.
<i>asaya</i> 177, 330.	<i>ačsma</i> 86, 887, 888.	<i>xraosuit</i> 960.
<i>asənga</i> 11.	<i>ačšma</i> 139.	<i>xšap(an)</i> 289, 290, 293, 481, 482, 488.
<i>aspa</i> 2, 5, 340, 458, 879.	<i>ao.</i>	<i>*xšapacara</i> 484.
<i>asman</i> 11, 886, 889.	<i>aošah</i> 458.	<i>xšafnya</i> 678.
<i>asru</i> 9, 236, 894, 896, 897, 955.	<i>k.</i>	O.P. <i>xšayaθiya</i> 346, 488.
<i>ašəmaoya</i> 149.	<i>ka</i> 116, 118.	<i>xšira</i> 488.
<i>ašta</i> 8, 377, 914, 915, 916, 919.	<i>kata</i> 117, 118, 221.	<i>xšudra</i> 614.
<i>asəm</i> 377.	O.P. <i>κατίθι</i> 168.	<i>xšmāka</i> 115, 338, 960.
<i>azda</i> 11.	<i>kafa</i> 115, 295, 296.	<i>xšraš</i> 428.
<i>āzi dahāka</i> 357.	<i>kamna</i> 701.	<i>xšvašti</i> 8.
<i>ahmāka</i> 11, 15.	<i>karana</i> 955.	<i>g.</i>
	<i>karata</i> 733, 734, 735.	<i>gaða</i> 142.
	<i>karəna</i> 754, 755.	

gainti 636.
garah 358.
garəma 140, 141, 145, 762.
gāu, gāv 140, 145, 376.
gātu 15.
garəpta 71.
 O.P. *gādumava* 328.
gūba 59, 237, 243, 245.
gaēθanəm 245.
gaona 105.
gaospənta 880.
gaōša 34, 99, 102, 103, 107, 141, 142, 423, 426, 427, 429, 431.

c.

cazra 155, 477.
caθwārō 4, 18, 156, 170, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 589, 590.
carəman 762.
cašman 155, 156, 157, 925, 926, 928, 929.
 **ci-gaona* 147.
ciθra 155, 165, 575, 579.
ciṭ 24.
cirya 764.
 O.P. *ciy* 30.
 O.P. *cišciy* 28, 161.
cvant 514.

j.

jaini 3, 6, 7, 178, 179, 183, 185, 186, 275, 281.
jainti 178.
jafra 185, 186, 682.
 O.P. *jivāky* 37.
jya 459, 523.
jvaiti 185, 186, 391.
jvant 635.

t.

tacaiti 167.
tanu 220.

tancišta 528.
tafnu 676.
tauruna 354.
taršti 8.
taršna 4, 7, 71, 220, 784, 785, 786, 789, 790, 791, 955.
tava 228.
taša 302.
tašaṭ 357.
tāpayeiti 227.
tərəsaiti 18, 227.
taθra 5, 639, 640.
 O.P. *tigra* 13.
tiyri 505.
tusən 45.
tūm 581, 582.
taoxman 471, 472, 960.

θ.

θātairi 413, 414.
 O.P. *θura-vāhara* 444.
θwāša 588.
θrayō 960.
θri 573, 577, 578, 579.
θrisata 958.
θraēlaona 574.

d.

daya 149.
daiṇhu-paiti 52.
dādaiti 253, 254.
dantan 246, 633, 634, 635.
darəya 13, 83, 253.
darəna 756.
dasa 13, 254, 258, 410, 416, 421.
dāta 227, 233.
 **dātabara* 959.
dāna 263.
 O.P. *dārayavauš* 341.
 O.P. *dārayāmiy* 353.
dərəmā 434.
 O.P. *dubāla* 358.

duydar 43.
duma 44, 47, 310.
 O.P. **duvitiyam ka-ram* 958.
dušaka 439, 441.
dušah 439, 440, 442, 443, 446.
dušdah 938, 939.
dāra 56, 61.
daēman 89, 246, 324.
daēva 85, 364.
daēza 87.
drājah 186.
draoya 105, 147, 960.
drvatāt 394.
dear 616, 617.

ṭ.

ṭbaēšah 617.

n.

nara 131, 132, 136.
nar 354.
nairya 275.
nava 275, 364, 382.
navaiti 382.
navadasa 255, 956.
navani 381.
nazda 934.
nāfah 315.
nāvaya 108.
nəmah 12, 324, 453, 454, 457.
nqman 20, 275, 319, 320, 321.
 **ni + √dub* 248.
 O.P. *naiba* 87, 308, 309.
naēma 324.
nyaka 115, 663.

p.

pacata 10.
pacaiti 166, 161, 162, 289.
paitidāna 279, 958.

<i>paitidita</i> 220.	<i>b.</i>	<i>miðaoxta</i> 130.
<i>paðana</i> 12, 237, 243, 245.	<i>baxta</i> 357.	O.P. <i>Μιθραδάρης</i> 576.
<i>pāda</i> 15, 246, 247, 254, 258, 287.	<i>baxdra</i> 468.	<i>nišda</i> 38, 939.
<i>panca</i> 9, 531.	<i>baxsaiti</i> 303.	<i>mašya</i> 148.
<i>pantan</i> 645, 646.	O.P. <i>Βαγίσταρον</i> 152.	<i>maððana</i> 240, 245.
<i>parəna</i> 289, 754, 755, 756, 757.	<i>banha</i> 315.	<i>mašsanti</i> 432.
<i>parəsu</i> 793.	<i>badra</i> 615.	<i>maoiri</i> 103, 354.
<i>pairi</i> 3.	<i>bandāmi</i> 651, 652, 653, 655.	y.
* <i>pairi</i> + √ <i>varə</i> 374.	<i>baraiti</i> 2.	<i>yava</i> 330, 331, 365, 376, 383.
* <i>pairi-vasaiti</i> 324.	<i>barəša</i> 779, 781.	<i>yaska</i> 330.
O.P. <i>parthava</i> 742.	<i>barəziš</i> 794.	<i>yašatanəm</i> 12.
<i>paršti</i> 74, 77, 82.	<i>bavāš</i> 379.	<i>yākarə</i> 3, 116.
<i>pasu</i> 4, 420, 421.	O.P. <i>bāxtri</i> 467, 955.	<i>yāna</i> 16, 330.
<i>pašca</i> 287.	O.P. <i>bāji</i> 178.	<i>yāma</i> 331.
<i>pašcaš</i> 5, 856, 857, 859.	<i>bāsu</i> 437, 438.	<i>yuxta</i> 331, 465.
<i>pāθra</i> 577.	<i>bəraz(a)</i> 73, 303.	<i>yuvan</i> 44.
<i>pāšna</i> 921, 922, 923, 924.	<i>bərazant</i> 633.	O.P. <i>yuviyā</i> 331.
<i>pəratu</i> 48, 736, 738.	O.P. <i>bādaka</i> 129.	<i>yušmāka</i> 115, 960.
<i>pəraṇa</i> 73, 755.	<i>buna</i> 45.	<i>yušmākəm</i> 927.
<i>pərasahi</i> 73, 82.	<i>būmi</i> 56.	<i>yvan</i> 393.
<i>pitar</i> 24, 229, 231.	<i>būza</i> 59, 308.	r.
<i>puθra</i> 45, 48, 50, 567, 575, 576, 577, 579, 955.	<i>baēvarə</i> 376.	<i>raya</i> 153.
<i>paēsa</i> 410.	<i>baššaza</i> 425.	<i>rāi</i> 95.
* <i>paourva-ayarə</i> 342.	<i>baoidi</i> 99, 264, 268, 271.	<i>rāna</i> 18.
f.	<i>brātar</i> 14, 221, 227, 228, 233, 700.	<i>rāsta</i> 349, 864.
<i>fra</i> 681.	<i>brvaš</i> 14, 960.	<i>raēcayaš</i> 35 4.
<i>fratərasaiti</i> 74.	m.	<i>raēšah</i> 423.
<i>fraðanjayeiti</i> 237, 240.	O.P. <i>magu</i> 144.	<i>raoršna</i> 492, 493, 494, 960.
<i>frapiθwa</i> 589.	<i>maxši</i> 480, 483.	<i>raoyna</i> 105, 349, 498, 499, 500, 959, 960.
<i>frasaocayāhi</i> 158, 159.	<i>mayna</i> 278.	<i>raocah</i> 99, 105, 107, 159, 166, 167, 168, 171, 349.
<i>frasnāyanta</i> 348.	<i>maðu</i> 9, 270.	O.P. <i>rautah</i> 220.
<i>frasgādaiti</i> 258.	<i>maidya</i> 620, 621, 622, 623.	v.
<i>frāymaš</i> 501.	<i>maidyaṇa</i> 7, 319.	* <i>vaðuvaka</i> 394.
<i>fraš</i> 681.	<i>maš-patišrasa</i> 23, 960.	<i>vana</i> 4, 372.
<i>frya</i> 345.	<i>marəta</i> 5.	<i>vafra</i> 5, 364, 955.
<i>fšarəma</i> 683.	<i>mašga</i> 933, 955.	<i>varəka</i> 80.
<i>fšu</i> 955.	<i>mātar</i> 229, 235, 356.	<i>varəcanəhvant</i> 364.
* <i>fšu-pāna</i> 683.	<i>māh</i> 451.	<i>varətata</i> 367, 368.
	<i>məreya</i> 73, 142, 144.	
	<i>mərəta</i> 319.	
	<i>mərəθyu</i> 960.	

varāda 366.
varāmi 83.
varāša p. ix, 78.
varšni 787, 788, 790.
 O.P. *vasiy* 369.
vāta 20, 228, 230, 235,
 364, 369, 372.
vāidi 15.
vāra 372.
vārayna 354.
vicinōi 28.
viḍava 274.
vidu 274, 959.
vitārata 367.
vīlasti 955.
vīra 35.
vīsaiti 12, 31, 221, 367,
 372, 376.
vārādka 74, 80.
vārāyeiti 367.
vāhrka 367, 369.
vohuni 456.
vaēti 85, 86, 228, 231,
 372.
vaēna 89, 283.
vaēnaiti 365.
vaocat 158.

s.

sax^oārē 413, 901.
sacaiti 167.
sata 3.
safa 295, 299.
sarah 410.
sarata 5, 67, 410, 729,
 735, 737.
sarāda 13, 748.
sukuruna 116.
**suxta-zaranya* 463.
suxra 47, 48, 50, 414,
 476, 477, 955.
suši 419, 427.
sūka 62, 118, 124, 126,
 419.
sūirya 420.

saēna mārəya 659.
saokəntavant 100.
saocayāhi 101, 105.
scindayeiti 858, 859.
**staxma* 471.
staxra 310, 471.
stārē 14, 54, 349.
-stāna 871, 873.
stūna 54.
snavarē 875.
snaoda 875.
span 123, 125, 129, 879,
 881, 960.
spāda 16, 960.
sperəsa 877.
spiš 25, 27, 54, 426,
 431.
spaēta 34, 89, 880, 881.
syāva 383, 891, 892.
srāvayeiti 379.
sraoni 101, 893, 960.
srva 955.

š.

šaiti 931, 932.
šavaite 4, 49, 423, 424,
 427, 930, 931.

z.

zanva 433.
zayata 330.
zayeiti 342.
zairi-gaona 32, 143.
zavarē 386.
zānu 18, 432.
zərādāya 67, 71, 432.
zimō 25, 27, 319, 436.
zrayah 935.

h.

haca 166, 455.
**haca-adairi* 33, 85,
 158, 274, 959.
hanjamana 455.
hapta 444, 450, 455,
 668, 669, 671, 673, 674.

hama 444.
haurva 771.
 O.P. *haldita* 358.
hasanra 5, 286.
hampāfrāiti 703.
hištaiti 31.
hiu 958.
hiwa 25, 27, 936, 937.
hucidra 28, 168.
husravah 372.
huška 43, 446, 448, 450,
 455, 908, 909, 910.
hū 446.
haētu 89, 446.
haēna 444.
haoma 105.
hvarē 901, 902.

x^o.

x^oanhar 8.
 $\sqrt{x^oan}$ 4.
 $\sqrt{x^oap}$ 666.
x^oasura 420, 422.
x^oafsata 688, 690, 900,
 903, 907.
x^oaraiti 349, 901, 903,
 904, 906.
x^oarənah 756.
x^oaēda 91, 254, 906.

C. Greek.

κόπος 413, 414.
λείχω 358.
ῥών 139, 377.

D. Latin.

gula 358.
labium 358.
ovum 377.
sturnus 862.
vespa 329.

E. Old High German.

kēla 358.

kinucan 521.
leckón 358.
stára 862.
wafsa 685.

F. Anglo-Saxon.
lippa 358.
 G. Old Bulgarian.
šivati 521.

H. Lithuanian.
lėsiù 358.
vapsà 329, 685, 686.

CORRIGENDA

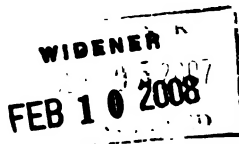
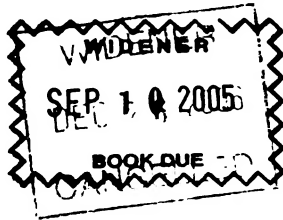
- § 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.
 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.
 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā*.
 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.
 5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *pascāṭ*.
 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.
 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *prāku* read *prākū*.
 71, l. 8 for *mṛdāṇka* read *mṛdāṇkā*.
 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣārādin* read *mṛṣārādīn*.
 82, l. 20 for *mytika* read *mytikā*.
 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'
 91, l. 2 for *x'aēda* read *x'aēdā*.
 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.
 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā*.
 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.
 184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānaḥ*.
 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hṛ*.
 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.
 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.
 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvalāya*.
 342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*.
 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaspa* read *vāspa*.
 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.
 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīṣa*, *śīrsa* read *śīṣā*.
 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'
 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *šavaiti* read *šavāite*.
 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.
 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.
 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.
 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.
 486, l. 4 for *kṣiyate* read *kṣiyatē*.
 495, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum*.
 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.
 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.
 Read throughout Āvanti, Waxī for Avantikā, Waxī.



The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.

